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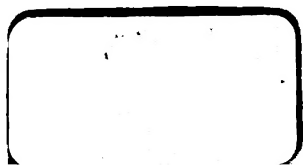
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No 53.





THE HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD.

Gough Atlas Berks. 80 53.

T H E
HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD,

IN THE COUNTY OF BERKS,
*FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR
TO THE PRESENT TIME.*

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF ITS CASTLE, CHURCHES, AND
MONASTIC INSTITUTIONS.

EMBRACING HISTORICAL NOTICES OF ADJACENT PARTS, AND AN
ATTEMPT TO FIX THE TRUE SITE OF
CALLEVA ATREBATUM.

BY
JOHN KIRBY HEDGES,
J.P., BERKS AND OXON.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.



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To

CHARLES MORRISON,

OF BASILDON PARK, ESQUIRE, ETC.,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF HIS MANY ACTS OF LIBERALITY

TO THE TOWN AND NEIGHBOURHOOD OF WALLINGFORD,

THESE PAGES ARE BY PERMISSION INSCRIBED BY

HIS FAITHFUL AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE circumstances which have led to the publication of this work, are explained in the introductory remarks to Part II. in Vol. II. p. 277, and may justify the assumption of a position to which I possess but slight claim. That Part, in its original form, contained some particulars regarding the parish church of All Saints, in Wallingford, showing the devolution of its tithes, and was intended for private circulation among the subscribers to a fund for augmenting the endowment of the neighbouring parish church of St. Mary-the-More. In the attempt, however, to acquire completeness, a mass of historical information respecting this ancient town, its Castle, its fourteen churches, and monastic institutions, was disclosed, which unwittingly drifted me into a much more extensive field of inquiry than I anticipated, and swelled the embryo pamphlet into the present volumes. Two courses occurred for adoption—either to pursue my original plan of private circulation, on an extended basis, or to ask the indulgence of the public, and endeavour to turn to a profitable account, for the benefit of the Parsonage House Building Fund, the materials I had col-

lected. Having been encouraged to adopt the latter course, let me hope it may prove successful.

To Wallingford undoubtedly belongs great antiquity. Its early history brings prominently in review some of the most remarkable events of ancient times; whilst at later periods, from the Normans downwards, so far from possessing local interest only, it may well be regarded as part of our national history. The wonder is that, although places of much less repute, and all the neighbouring towns, and even the villages of Swyncombe and Ewelme, have had a chronicler, the history of this highly privileged borough, rich as its associations have been, has never appeared, except in a very meagre and fragmentary form.

The present work is the result of an attempt to classify the scattered materials relating to the town; to bring to light much hitherto unpublished matter; to show the indubitable connection of the place with the Roman period, and the claim it possesses to be considered the site of the famous station *Calleva Atrebatum*.

One word, by way of excuse, if it be thought that some few of the following pages partake too much of a general character. Both town and neighbourhood teem with historic associations, and a brief reference now and then to general history will help to elucidate and render more intelligible many interesting particulars, which, clustering in and around this time-honoured spot, blend with events of national importance.

Among those to whom my thanks are due for the interest they have manifested in my researches, I must express my obligations to Edward Anderdon Reade,

Esq., C.B., Augustus W. Franks, Esq., F.R.S., R. S. Poole, Esq., C. T. Martin, Esq., the Rev. C. J. Clutterbuck, M.A., Messrs. Nichols, Mr. W. R. Davies, Dr. Allnatt, Walter Money, Esq., and E. C. Davey, Esq., for the valuable assistance they have rendered. To the corporation of Wallingford, and Charles Hedges, Esq., the town clerk, I am indebted for the facility with which they have allowed me to inspect the ancient muniments of the borough; and to Stanley Leighton, Esq., M.P., my obligations are especially due for the interesting drawings which have enabled me to give the several illustrations in Vol. II.

JOHN KIRBY HEDGES.

WALLINGFORD CASTLE, 1881.

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No.	Sovereign.	Name of Moneyer.	No.	Sovereign.	Name of Moneyer.
1.	Æthelstan	Burnwald	17.	Edward the Confessor	Brand
2.	"	Beornwald	18.	"	Brihtnir
3.	Edgar	Heremod	19.	Harold II.	Swehtilinc
4.	Æthelred II.	Ælfward	20.	William I. and II.	Brand
5.	Cnut	Coleman	21.	"	Sweartinc
6.	"	Edwerd	22.	"	Brand
7.	"	Ælfwine	23.	"	Sweortinc
8.	"	Leofwine	24.	"	Teglwine
9.	Harold I.	Eeric	25.	"	Swertinc
10.	"	Ælwine	26.	"	Ælfwine
11.	"	Leofwine	27.	"	Colbern
12.	Edward the Confessor	Brihtic	28.	Henry I.	Osnulf
13.	"	Ælwlil	29.	"	Osnulf
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16.	"	Brand	32.	Henry III.	Robert

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PART I.

VOL. I.

B

THE HISTORY OF WALLINGFORD.

CHAPTER I.

ROMAN PERIOD.

HISTORICAL notice of the town of Wallingford, in the county of Berks, prior to the Norman Conquest, is scanty, and, taken alone, is not sufficiently decisive to warrant a classification of either town or castle (applying the term as a stronghold) among acknowledged Roman works; but when aided by the light of more recent research and discovery, there exists evidence sufficient to show, almost to a certainty, that in the time of the Romans the town was a place of note, strongly entrenched, and probably a military station. On this point a preponderance, more or less, of authoritative opinion prevails, although there are some modern historians who, arraying themselves against Leland, Camden, Burton, Speed, Baxter, Kennett, Milner, Plot, Lyson, Guest, and other antiquaries, not only ignore the conclusions at which most of our early historians have arrived, but, disregarding the confirmatory light thrown on those conclusions by more recent investigation, tell us that Wallingford has no Roman remains, no Roman tradition of any kind, and that the rectangular entrenchment which still exists may be said to be a Roman work wrought after the Romans were gone. Some have gone so far as to exclude the town from all connection with the Roman period, and one author has remitted a Roman origin to the category of the impossible. Now, the fallacy of very much of this will be indisputably shown, and the surprise is that men of so

much learning and erudition should have given so easy a mark for criticism and refutation. Is it that the sophism of the present day seeks to reject, as unsound, the opinions of our earlier historians, in favour of some favourite and substituted theory, in which possibly it may be thought a greater amount of speculation enters than in the doctrine attempted to be subverted? To some extent this certainly appears to have been the case as respects Wallingford, which for many a century held as foremost a place in the annals of our earlier history as it unquestionably did in more recent times. But of late years no one has kept alive the interest attaching to the place, the theorist has met with no opposing voice, and a glorious history has in consequence well-nigh faded away. Let us endeavour to awaken an interest in the royal borough and its surroundings, by putting in a readable shape many historical facts which much research has secured, and by taking a calm review of some of the reasons which have been employed for consigning this "citie of note in the tyme of the Romans" * almost to oblivion.

Whether the town ever possessed the famous ford that sealed the fate of the British chieftain is a question it would be difficult to answer in the affirmative; with much more probability it may be assumed that the Roman soldiers under Aulus Plautius crossed the Thames here, and fought a decisive battle on the river-bank. On these and such like points, and that involving the question of a lengthened military occupation, and whether Comius made the place his royal seat, there is ample room for discussion; but to strike at the key-stone of accumulated opinion, which for centuries past has associated Wallingford with Roman times, for the purpose of building up something new, appears, in my humble judgment, to be due more to the innovating tendency of the age than to a fair and unbiassed consideration of the subject.

My endeavour in the following four or five chapters will be to show not only the Roman connection, but that strong grounds exist for identifying the town with "Calleva Atrebatum" of the Itineraries.

The absence of any certain knowledge as to the ancient and precise name of the town has furnished the chief ground for argument; few places, in this respect, have given rise

* Manuscript in the Herald's College.

to so much controversy, although it cannot be said that the opinions of our earlier topographers materially differ. According to Ptolemy, the chief town of the Atrebatii was named Kalkua or Nalkua, and in one text Caleoua (καληουα). In the Antonine "Itinerary" it is rendered Gallena or Calleva; this name, read as Gallena, Galeva, Calleva, Caleva, or Calcua, is identified with Wallingford by Pitseus, Humfrey Lhuyd, Alexander Nevil, Leland, Camden, Burton, Dr. Milner the historian of Winchester, and several others. Pitseus tells us that the place was known by the name of Calcua, till the entrance of the Anglo-Saxons. Lhuyd writes, "Wallingford (eleven miles distant from Oxford) doth possess that place whereon old Galeva sometime stood."* Camden adds the letter "l," and writes it Gallena, as in Antoninus, considering the letter "C" was introduced by a mistake of the transcribers for the letter "G," "since the change of 'G' into 'C' was easy, they being sister letters;" and he supposes it was derived from two British words *Gual*, *Hen*, signifying the old fortification, which name, in his opinion, it still retains, with the addition by our forefathers of the word "Forde," by reason of the vadosity of the river there; its present name, Wallingford, being contracted for the Saxon Gualleugaford, or, "G" and "W" being in Saxon identical, Wallengaford. This etymology, says another author, is rendered plausible by the shallowness of the stream in the neighbourhood of the town.†

In Burton's "Commentary on Antoninus," the name is said to spring from Antiquum Vallum, which he identifies with the trenches about the castle. Bishop Kennett, in his "Parochial Antiquities," asks why may not Wallingford be *Gallorum Transitus*, and so called from the passage and defeat of Levius Gallus, colleague of Allectus, A.D. 294? And he refers to the principal city of the Atrebatii, on the banks of the Thames, as "Gallena Atrebatum." Messrs. Lysons‡ state there are reasons for supposing that Wallingford was a town in the time of the Romans, and that the vallum there is unquestionably a Roman work, but they consider that the name has not come down to us. Mr. Pointer, in his "Britannia Romana," states, "The Emperor Gallienus was

* "Fragmentum de Script. Britann."

† "Beauties of England and Wales," vol. i.

‡ "Berks.," p. 214.

here in person, and gave name to the town called Wallenford, the old Roman city Caleva, or, as Antoninus calls it, Gallena. 'G' and 'W' signifying the same thing in more languages than one, it was called Wallien, or Gallien-ford."

We may add to this, as a further illustration, that as the name Guilelmus in Latin is William in English, so Gallena would, by a like transmutation of letters, be Wallena, and by substituting "ing," which is common in Saxon names, for the termination "ena," and adding "ford" according to Camden, we get the present name; "Wall," being all that remains of the Roman appellation, which prefix, as Dr. Stevens of Reading suggests, comes from the Celtic *gwal*, a rampart. Names of places thus compounded are by no means uncommon, for we know that Celtic names in ancient times were frequently changed; first Latinized by the Romans, and afterwards often altered by the Saxons to suit their own ideas or to show the family or clan which gave their name to the place.

We find Wallingford written Wealinga-, Waling-, Walling-, Walin-, Wallyng-ford, Wallinga-forda, Wallenga-fort, Wallyngforth, and Wallyngfort; from Gualengaford, "the ford or passage of the Gauls." *

Gough, in his additions to Camden, observes, "Perhaps no place in the Itinerary [of Antoninus] has been so often shifted as Calleva, designated by Burton to be the principal city of Britain, when the Romans were lords of all here. Stukeley and Salmon carry it to Farnham in Surrey, Ward to Silchester in Hampshire, and Gale fixes it at Henley-on-Thames."

It is fair to remark with respect to Stukeley that he spoke with considerable doubt, as appears in a subsequent chapter, in connecting Calleva with Farnham, and that he afterwards fixed upon Wallingford as the true site.

But the diversity of opinion does not end here. In addition to the places before named and others further away, Reading, Oxford, Streatley, Moulsoford, Basingstoke, Newbury, and Maidenhead have been mentioned, and a gentleman writing in a paper published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, some fifty years ago, fixes the site of Caleva at Coley, near the first-mentioned town.

Although so many places have been named, I think we

* "Local Etymology," by Dr. Charnock.

may take it as now very generally admitted, that the honour of possessing the great name belongs either to Wallingford or Silchester. Up to the time of Mr. Horsley (1732),* the Calleva-Wallingford theory of Camden, Speed, and others remained unchallenged. Suddenly the name was transferred to Silchester by that learned historian, who, reviewing the comparative claims of the two places in reference to the "Itinerary" of Antoninus, closes his remarks by saying, "I think Silchester must be it." Now, this is not the language of one who speaks with confidence on the point, and, although he argues strongly in other parts of his great work in support of his new theory, one cannot fail to detect a doubtful and hesitating apprehension that his arguments are open to question; and yet this qualified expression of opinion has been considered sufficient by a somewhat large section of modern writers to overturn the recorded and accepted conclusions of many of our earlier and most learned antiquaries.

The foundation of the opinion Horsley has expressed rests principally upon the statement of distances in the seventh "Itinerary" of Antoninus, which he considers agrees with the situation of Silchester, and not of Wallingford; reliance is also placed upon the traces of Roman roads that have been discovered in the neighbourhood of the former town, and the remains of Roman buildings that are still to be seen in the place itself. I propose to consider the "Itinerary" fully, so far as concerns Calleva, and the other evidence on which reliance is placed, in a subsequent chapter; and I venture to think it will be shown that this distance test, when taken alone, cannot be applied with any degree of certainty or even satisfaction; and that, upon a calm consideration of all the circumstances, not only is the evidence insufficient to give to Silchester the unquestionable position which so many, since Horsley's time, have assigned to it, but a strong case is presented to us in favour of Wallingford.

Leaving, therefore, the Itinerary to be discussed hereafter, let us in this chapter note the bearing of some of the other arguments that have been used on the general question as to the ancient name and site of the place; and first, let us refer to the old surveys and maps, which naturally come to the foreground. The survey of Claudius Ptolemæus, commonly known

* "*Britannia Romana*," by J. Horsley, M.A., F.R.S., 1732.

as Ptolemy, was published at the commencement of the second century (that is about A.D. 115 *) and mentions fifty-six towns, one of them being Nalkua or Calcua of the Atrebatii.† The geographical position of the states is thus given: "Next to the Silyres are the Dobuni, and the town is Corinium (Cirencester); then the Atrebatii, and the town is Nalcua; next them, and in the most eastern part, are the Cantii, and among them the towns Londinium, Darvenum, and Rutupisæ; again, the Rhegni lie south from the Atrebatii and the Cantii, and the town is Neomagus; also the Belgæ lie south from the Dobuni, and the towns are Ischalis, Aquæ Calidæ, and Venta (Ilchester, Bath, and Winchester); south-west from them are the Durotriges, and their town is Damium; next to them, in the most western part, are the Dumnonii, among whom are these towns, Voliba, Uxela, Tamare, and Isca." This description, though not very precise, suffices to show that the territories of the Atrebatii and Belgæ were distinct, and that the latter lay south of the former. In many of the editions of Ptolemy, maps are introduced to illustrate his geography, and in most of them Nalkua or Calcua is placed close to the river Thames in the Atrebatian territory, at about the spot now occupied by Wallingford, and in one of the editions a Roman road between London and the Severn appears to run by it. This also is the situation distinctly marked in the "Collection of Maps after Ptolemy, by Gerardus Mercator" (1578), and in "The Chorographical Map of the several stations, annexed to the Commentary on the Itinerary of Antoninus, so far as concerneth Britain," by William Burton (1658), Gallena Atrebatii occupies the present site of the town, and is called Wallingford, with Vindomis on the south-west as Silchester; a like situation is allotted to Calleva in Camden's map of Britannia Romana, by Gibson, the Segontiaci, with Vindomis as the capital, lying towards the south; and also in the "Corrected Map of Britain according to Ptolemy," Calcua is placed in the Atrebatian district, and Silchester in the district of the Belgæ. In the map of the British people mentioned by Ptolemy, appended to Dr. Henry's

* Some writers make it thirty years later, and suppose that the maps which accompany Ptolemy's text, and to which we are about to refer, were compiled several years (centuries, some say) after his time.

† Kemble, vol. ii. p. 266.

"Great Britain," and in his "Map of Great Britain according to Ptolemy's Geography as rectified," Calleva Atrebatii or Calcuæ (which is taken to be a synonyme of Calleva) appears in the same spot on the river-bank, whereas Vindomis, as Silchester, is placed some miles distant from the river on the south, in the district Belgæ, as in the previous instance.

In Dr. Stukeley's map appended to his "Antiquities of Great Britain, with the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester," Wallingford, as Caleva Bibrocorum, occupies a site close to the river, with Vindomis, as Silchester, on the south-west; but we have the doctor's authority in an earlier work for calling Wallingford Caleba Atrebatum and not Bibrocorum.

In the map in an edition of Ptolemy, published at Amsterdam, in 1730, Calleva appears in the district of the Atrebatii, close to the river on the south, with the figure denoting the class of the town on the other side.

In the collection of maps of the ancient geography of the world, by Albertus Forbiger, published at Nuremberg, without date, is one of Britain, wherein Calleva is not placed so near the river, but on the east-south-east of Spinæ, and on the west-north-west of Vindomis. But in this general collection one can hardly expect to find very precise information as to locality.

Horsley tells us that when he compared the maps with the "Itinerary" of Antoninus, he found that Ptolemy had set so many towns out of their true position and order, that he received little satisfaction by the comparison; and taking as his principal standard the "Itinerary" of Antoninus, he rearranged the position of places, and gave Calleva to Silchester, which is placed in his map some way down, on the south of the Thames, apparently in the district Belgæ, though nothing appears therein to distinguish the boundary between that tribe and the Atrebatii.

It is not to be denied that there are palpable errors in Ptolemy's geography, but no advantage ought to be claimed in favour of either author in this respect, as manifest errors and omissions abound in both works, and it remains to be seen whether the mistaken position of the places referred to by Horsley is a sufficient reason for rejecting an interpretation of Ptolemy's text which, as these various maps show, fixes the situation of Calleva on or near the river-bank, at

about the spot now occupied by Wallingford. It may, however, be said that all these maps are in a greater or less degree based on Ptolemy, and that after all, although they are authenticated by great names, the contention resolves itself into the question whether the geography of Ptolemy or the "Itinerary" of Antoninus is the better authority. Horsley, who adopts Ptolemy, as he admits, to a great extent, goes mainly to the "Itinerary" of Antoninus for his corrections; and thus he directly raises an issue between these two geographers on the vexed question of the site of the true Calleva, which is generally admitted to be the same as Calcua or Caleona, although no reasons are given for so considering the identity of these places. It will, therefore, not be out of place, before we proceed further, to consider whether Ptolemy or Antoninus is most to be relied on on the question of location of particular places.

That there is a looseness in the preparation of the ancient maps is obvious, which in the absence of some landmark, so to speak, would render it difficult to define the exact site of any place; but here we have the great highway, the river Thames, and it is hard to suppose that Calcua would have been placed on the river-bank, if in fact it had been some nine or ten miles off in the position occupied by Silchester. Moreover, Horsley, echoing the statement in the "*Notitia Imperii Occidentalis*," expressly admits the existence of several considerable military ways, for which no *Iter* was compiled; any "correction," therefore, grounded on the "Itinerary," admittedly defective, cannot be regarded as satisfactory.

Ptolemy undertook his work, as regards Britain, under an order confirmed by a decree of the Senate, that the whole Roman world should be surveyed and measured, by "learned men, and well seen in all parts of philosophy." The work occupied about thirty-two years, after which the result of this combined and lengthened labour was brought into the Senate, and has been handed down to us as authentic in several editions. The author is said to have been one of the most celebrated of the ancient geographers, and to have been remarkable for the profound learning he displayed in the composition of his numerous works. He flourished in the former part of the second century, under the Emperors Trajan, Hadrian, and some add Antoninus Pius, who succeeded

Hadrian, A.D. 138. His description of Great Britain was written not long after the Romans had subdued the south part of this island, and while the British nations, even in these parts, retained their ancient names, and possessed their native territories. It may, therefore, be assumed that he had the means of gaining more authentic information, and forming more accurate conceptions as to the early state of the island, its towns, and its inhabitants under the Romans, than the compilers of what is known as the "Antonine Itinerary," which was composed many years afterwards, under circumstances which render a portion of it of dubious authority, on account of the conflicting additions that were made. The age of this "Itinerary" is a matter of uncertainty, the most commonly received opinion is that, in its present state, it is not older than the fourth century, or the time of Constantine the Great, because there are the names of towns in it which, there is reason to believe, were not given till about that time. The work, in its earlier stage, was composed, as we learn from several authorities, at the command and for the use of some of those Roman Emperors who bore the name of Antoninus, and was designed as a directory to the Roman troops in their marches. It purports to give the names of the towns and stations on the several military ways, with the number of miles between each town. All agree that it was a parchment roll, and it is supposed to have been transmitted down from one Emperor and general to another, and to have been frequently altered and added to, as new-built cities or ruined old ones rendered additions or alterations necessary. One authority tells us that the names included in the "Itinerary," prove that it was altered to suit the existing state of the Empire down to the time of Diocletian (A.D. 285-305), after which we have no evidence of any alteration. Thompson Watkin, in the "Archæologia," vol. xxviii., supposes that this "Itinerary" was actually compiled at the commencement of the reign of Antoninus Pius (between A.D. 138 and 144), and he appears to reject, as unauthentic additions, all the roads of a later period.

The author of the "*Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*" remarks: "We have never been able to discover to which of the Antonine family we are to ascribe this 'Itinerary.' Antoninus Pius and Caracalla are the two principal candidates."

In Horsley's opinion, the claim is due to the latter, as Caracalla was some time in Britain, and seems to have had the best opportunity of any of the Roman Emperors of gaining a thorough knowledge of the island. Reynolds considers that it is in a very high degree probable that Antoninus Pius was the author of the old "Itinerary," and that there is no evidence so unexceptionable by which it can be attributed to any other person.

One point is clear, that if the work was composed by or under either of the four Emperors who bore the name of Antoninus, as was probably the case, the compilation must have taken place before the year 222. The first of the name was Antoninus Pius, who reigned from A.D. 138 to 161; the second was Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, A.D. 161 to 180; Bassianus, son of Septimius Severus, better known as Caracalla (which was a nickname), and who took the names of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, reigned from A.D. 211 to 217; and Heliogabalus, who took the same names, wore the purple from A.D. 218 to 222.

Several authorities give the year 320 as the date of the "Itinerary," which probably marks the time when the additions to the original ceased. This would be long subsequent to the reign of the last of the Antonines, and taking the year 212, according to Horsley, as the time of commencement, the work must have occupied more than a century from its commencement to its close, and could not have been composed by one person. Doubtless it was prepared at various times during a long interval, and embraced a series of alterations and additions, which were made, without explanation, to suit the varying circumstances that were constantly occurring. Many of the Iters as they stand are perfectly unintelligible, and lead to the belief that the earlier work underwent but little correction when alterations were made and fresh roads opened. If so, the work as a whole, though an official document of national importance, must of necessity be contradictory and conflicting, the part which represented an existing state of things at one time clashing with an altered state of things at a subsequent period. On the whole, therefore, it is submitted that to Ptolemy belongs the merit of being the more reliable authority.

Now, it is clear that Calleva was an important place. It

is mentioned five times in the Antonine "Itineraries," either as a terminus or a central station, and if not the capital of, it was certainly situated within the territory of, the Atrebatii.

Vindomis was also a Roman station. It is mentioned in two of the Iters as lying intermediate between Calleva and Venta Belgarum, and is said to have been the capital of the Segontiaci, situated in Hampshire in the district of the Belgæ. The question, therefore, arises, where was the territory occupied by the Atrebatii, and was it distinct from the tribes of the Belgæ and Segontiaci? Upon the answer to this question depends in some measure the solution of the perplexing doubt as to the true site of Calleva Atrebatum. In the "Old English Chronicles," Dr. Giles notes, "The Belgæ occupied those parts of Hants and Wilts not held by the Segontiaci."

"Belgæ," says Horsley, "must be the people of Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire; Atrebatii, a people chiefly of Berkshire."

In "Lapenberg's History of England," by Thorpe, it is stated, "Besides the Belgæ, there dwelt also in the thickly peopled island of Britain, the Atrebatæ on the Thames. They were settled in Berkshire, and their chief city was Caleva."

In Browne Willis's "Notitia Parliamentaria," we have his opinion: "The ancient inhabitants which possessed this county (Berkshire) known to Cæsar were the Atrebatii. The town of Newbury is said to arise out of the ruins of the old Roman Spinæ or Spene, which, with Caleva or Wallingford, were the only Roman towns in this county. This place, called by Antoninus Calleva, by Ptolemy Calcua, etc., and now by us Wallingford, was heretofore the chief city of the Atrebatii, and the royal seat of Comius, either their original prince or appointed so by Cæsar's conquest. During the time the Roman arms prevailed, this was a place of great figure, and also in the days of the Saxons and Danes."

Sir Richard Colt Hoare in his "Ancient Wiltshire," and Mr. Wright in "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," agree with the other authorities that the Atrebatæ were settled in Berkshire, and the Belgæ in Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somersetshire.

"The primary city of the Atrebates," says Hatcher,* "was Caleba. Below them, near the river Kunetius, lived the Segontiaci, whose chief city was Vindomis."

Evidence could be multiplied to show the location of the two tribes, but it appears unnecessary.

The Hon. Daines Barrington expresses an opinion that appears to be quite unique, to the effect that the Atrebatii inhabited Kent, and not the inland county of Berks. He appears to restrict the application of the term "maritime" in the "Commentaries," so as to exclude Berkshire; but Cæsar describes the inhabitants of the maritime portion of Britain to have been "a people whose number was countless." "Iron," he says, "is produced in the maritime regions, and the most civilized of all those nations are they who inhabit Kent, which is entirely a maritime district." This description by Cæsar himself does not restrict the maritime district to the county of Kent, but shows how great an extent of country was embraced in the term "maritime."

The connection of Calleva with the tribe Atrebatii in Berkshire suggests a difficulty which the advocates of the Calleva-Silchester theory have never been able satisfactorily to explain, because, assuming that the Hampshire Silchester belonged by its Roman name to the Segontiaci, or the Belgæ, it would be manifestly inconsistent to describe that place as the Calleva of the Atrebatii. This inconsistency has been admitted by several writers, some of whom, in the endeavour to render it less palpable, have extended the Atrebatian boundary so as to include that part of Hampshire in which Silchester is situated. Indeed, Dr. Guest states, though somewhat vaguely, that the Atrebatii were as much a Belgic race as the Belgæ proper; but probably he refers to the generally admitted Gaulish origin of the two tribes, and their supposed union at a remote period, and not to their geographical position in the time of Ptolemy.

Horsley, while he does not deny that Silchester was in the Belgian district, meets the difficulty which the name of the tribe suggests, by stating that the place was the residence both of the Segontiaci and the Atrebatii, and that "possibly the former, in Ptolemy's time and also when the 'Itineraries' were written, might have been joined to the latter, and

* Hatcher on Richard of Cirencester.

looked upon only as a part of that people, so that what was before a city of the Segontiaci might then justly be termed a city of the Atrebatæ." *

Some few other writers go so far as to contend that the Atrebatii were not even settled in Britain at the time of the invasion of Julius Cæsar, founding their opinion upon the absence of any express mention of the tribe in his "Commentaries."

Now in considering these three points, let us begin with the last, and take them in the inverse order.

It is quite true that the Atrebatæ are not expressly mentioned in the "Commentaries," excepting as Gauls. Some authors are of opinion, and among them Drs. Gale and Henry, that they were the same people as the Ancalites, who by that name surrendered to Cæsar with the Cenimagni, Bibroci, and other tribes, as appears by the twenty-first chapter of the fifth book of his "Commentaries." If, however, this view be disputed, it does not follow that the tribe is to be excluded because it is not expressly named. It will be observed that Cæsar, in enumerating the six tribes that surrendered, referred only to those that were foremost in seeking an alliance, for he speaks of the "different tribes," and the "numerous tribes," that passed over from Gaul; and we know there were several other tribes besides these six particularly mentioned.

If the Atrebatæ were not original Britons, as Whitaker considers, they must have passed over to this country from Gaul, which is more probable. Dr. Smith, in his "Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography," states the Atrebatæ were one of the Belgic peoples, who had sent settlers to Britannia long before Cæsar's time ("Bell. Gall.," v. 12), and their name was retained by the Atrebatæ of Britannia. In the "Horæ Britannicæ," † the Atrebatæ are mentioned as one of the forty-five British tribes or independent states at the coming of the Romans into the island. They are also mentioned by Evans ‡ as holding territory in Britain in the time of Cæsar, "in and around Berkshire, as is commonly considered." There is no authority for assuming that immigration to any extent took place after Cæsar's invasion, and this fact is confirmatory of Dr. Smith's opinion.

* "Brit. Rom.," p. 442.

† Vol. i. p. 117.

‡ "Coins of the Ancient Britons," pp. 41, 151.

Henry of Huntingdon * tells us that the original Britons possessed all the southern parts of the island, and from other sources we learn that the greater part of them were driven northward by successive invasions of foreign settlers, who, although many of them were classed under the general name of the Belgæ, retained, as Cæsar tells us, the original designations of the tribes from whence they came. The Atrebates were a powerful tribe in Gaul, over which Comius was appointed king by Cæsar, and we may fairly conclude that the Atrebates of Britain were transported hither from that tribe. The probability that such was the case will further appear when we consider hereafter the connection of Comius the Atrebatian with this district. These foreigners are supposed to have occupied, by repeated immigrations, a great part of the south and midland portions of Britain; though some authors limit their occupation at the time of Cæsar's invasion to those parts which are situated between the river Thames and the Channel. This latter extent of country, with perhaps the counties of Cornwall, Devonshire, and part of Somersetshire (the district of the Dumnonii), was called by Cæsar the maritime states.

The question remains, when did these successive immigrations from Belgic Gaul take place? The first invasion, according to Whitaker and the Rev. Beale Poste,† dates about three hundred and fifty years before the Christian era. Dr. Musgrave fixes their coming at a later period, namely, about a hundred and fifty years before Christ; and Carte, in his "General History of England" (edit. 1747), considers it was about the same time.

At a still later period, which Carte and Dr. Guest put at about a hundred years before the Christian era, but Beale Poste and Musgrave somewhat earlier, Divitiacus King of the Suessones, mentioned by Cæsar ("Bell. Gall." ii. 4), resolved, we are told, to make an invasion of Britain, with a formal design of conquest. Carte (p. 26) gives reasons for considering that the expedition took place some twenty-five years before Cæsar's invasion, at the instance of the Belgæ settled in Britain. Divitiacus, he goes on to say, "assembled a large body of forces, composed of his own subjects—the Bibroci in the Rhenois, the Atrebates, and other Belgic nations, that lay

* By Forester, p. 10.

† "Britannic Researches."

adjoining his territories, and at the greatest distance from the Rhine—passed the sea into Britain, and reduced a great part of it into his obedience. The chief scene of his conquests lay in the counties of Berks and Oxford, where he planted the Bibroci and Atrebates; and in those of Hants, Wilts, and the bordering parts of Somerset and Sussex, where he settled the other adventurers, who went by the general name of the Belgæ, expelling* the Regni and other clans of the old inhabitants from their seats in those counties."

Beale Poste considers it probable that each section of the invaded country had its king; that those who were called Belgæ by distinction formed the dominion of Divitiacus; that Cunobeline was king of several central provinces and Prasutagus king of another conquered portion.

This opinion receives ample confirmation from other sources, but it appears that the power of Divitiacus determined with his life, and the title never descended to his posterity.

Thus we have the conclusions of several modern authors, that the Atrebates existed as a separate tribe in Britain at the time of Julius Cæsar's conquest.

But we need not rest here.

No one can well doubt that at the date of Ptolemy's survey (say A.D. 115) the Atrebates were located in and were the principal people of Berkshire, because they are among the tribes therein particularized. There is an interval of nearly one hundred and seventy years between the invasion and the survey, during the first one hundred and fifty years of which period it may be fairly said that no great changes took place in the status of the several tribes, for we have it on authority that the Romans did not materially alter their position, nor interfere with tribal distinctions; and what that position was in or about the time of Cæsar, is further shown in the chapter on the "Itineraries." During the reigns of Augustus who was declared Emperor B.C. 29, and of Tiberius who was Emperor from A.D. 14 to 37, the British states which had submitted to Cæsar were left in a position of friendship and alliance with Rome, with whose merchants they seem to have encouraged a peaceful inter-

* To be consistent with other authorities, we should understand this word to mean reducing to obedience.

course; while at home they turned their attention to social improvements. Almost all the island, says Strabo (fourth book), was brought into intercourse with Rome, and port dues were levied in Roman ports in Gaul on all goods imported into or exported from Britain. It is true that it is stated, in the fifty-third book of Dion Cassius, that there were considerable dissensions between the Romans and Britons for some years in the early part of the reign of the former monarch, but these dissensions appear to have been nothing more than the term implies; and it is clear that both monarchs, from motives of policy, rested satisfied with the achievements of their predecessor, and showed no desire to materially disturb the then existing state of things, and it may be added, as respects Tiberius, that his love of indolence and vicious indulgences probably operated as a more powerful motive for inaction than a spirit of wisdom. Nor did the island suffer anything at the hands of Caligula, who merely proposed, but did not attempt to execute a design upon it; and no internal conflict of any importance appears to have taken place till towards the close of the reign of Cunobeline, when discontent arose in his dominions, and on his death there was an insurrection of the Belgæ against his sons. This carries us up to a time subsequent to the king's death, which Evans fixes between A.D. 40 and 43. After the struggle with Cunobeline's sons followed the invasion of Claudius and Aulus Plantius, when a great part of the island was brought into subjection and garrisoned by the Romans, and although about thirty-six years elapsed before the Roman power was thoroughly established, during which time kings and towns were captured, and considerable contention and disturbance took place, yet we read of no displacement of tribes, neither in this nor in the preceding period. We rather gather that the subdued territory was held, and the British states kept in check, by the large disposable force of the Roman army then in Britain, which is put down at thirty-nine thousand men.

A little additional light may be thrown on the question by numismatic evidence. According to Beale Poste, coins of various states in Britain appeared, and among them A.D. 41 to 44 were those of the Atrebatii. At page 50 is a description of two British coins of the sons of Comius the Atrebatian, lately found in these parts. Evans, in his valu-

able work of "The Coins of the Ancient Britons," figures, in Plate B, several uninscribed British coins of the earlier type, found in and around Berkshire, which, he remarks, "is commonly considered to have been the territory of the Atrebatii." A British gold coin (uninscribed) of a type somewhat similar to those figured by Evans, was turned up by the plough a few years ago near Beron's Hill, on the confines of the county, about four miles from Wallingford, and is now in the possession of Edward Anderdon Reade, Esq., C.B., of Ipsden House. Evans assigns to the earliest of the British coins a date somewhere between one hundred and fifty and two hundred years before Christ, drawing his conclusions from the evidence the coins themselves afford; but I do not observe that these uninscribed coins are said to carry with them any particular signification as to the date, except what is to be gathered from the improved type and workmanship as time advanced. The inscribed native coinage followed, which carries us on till after the reign of Cunobeline.

As far as we know, therefore, the Atrebatian and other states retained their nationality under their native princes, except in two or three instances, when a subdivision of a too powerful state seems to have taken place, until about the year A.D. 96, when the work commenced of dividing the province of Britain into departments. This brings us to within twenty years or so of the time when the celebrated geographer published his survey, in which the Atrebatii are mentioned as one of the native tribes. We have thus carried back this colony to a period antecedent to the invasion of Cæsar, and down to the time of Ptolemy; and the supposition that it was not settled in Britain when the Roman general descended on the island is scarcely within the bounds of probability.

Let us next consider the suggestion of Horsley, that Silchester had become at that time the capital of the two provinces.

If Horsley's view be right, and Silchester, as Calleva, had become the residence both of the Segontiaci and its newcomers the Atrebatæ, it may be asked, Why was the Roman town called, both by Ptolemy and Antoninus, the city of the Atrebatii, and its old and venerable connection ignored? Are we to be told that the former tribe (recognized as dis-

tinct by Cæsar) became merged in the latter before the "Itineraries" were written? Concede, for the sake of argument, that some of the people of the neighbouring Atrebatian state inhabited Silchester, surely this circumstance can hardly be considered a sufficient ground for assuming that the capital of an important province was shifted and became merged in a tribal town, situated without the limits of its boundary; and for giving to the Segontian town the new and dignified appellation of Calleva Atrebatum, which occurs no less than five times in the "Itinerary" of Antoninus. Neither are we to conclude, as we shall see hereafter, that Silchester, before the reign of Constantine (A.D. 337), had acquired that importance as a city which would render it likely that a neighbouring nation would adopt it as their capital.

As to the remaining point—the extension of the boundary so as to embrace Silchester—the impossibility of proving that the boundary now existing between the counties of Berks and Hants was that which divided the two tribes seventeen hundred years ago is manifest; and the difficulty of arriving at any conclusion is increased, so far as the parish of Mortimer is concerned, by the singular irregularity of the line, and the absence at that particular place of any marked natural boundary between the two counties. It is said that Mortimer West End (part of the above parish) was once within the boundary of Berkshire, and that it was in ancient times taken within the hundred of Holdshot, to enlarge the Manor of Silchester. A writer in the *Archæological Journal* * states that the present boundary was made at the general inclosure, and presumes that the ancient division of the tribes ran straight to the large tumulus on Baughurst Common. This tumulus is the most easterly of the three tumuli, near Wasing, called Baughurst Barrows, which still stand, a remarkable monument of former times. They are about five hundred and sixty feet above the sea-level, and about four hundred and sixty feet below the chalk range.

Whitaker, after referring to the occupation by the Bibroci of the south-eastern parts of Berkshire, from the Loddon or its neighbourhood on the west, to the Thames on the east, with Bibracte or Bray for their capital, gives the boundaries of the Atrebatii as follows:—

* Vol. viii. p. 227.

"Their dominions," he observes, "were confined to the south of the Thames, and were bounded by the Loddon or its neighbourhood on the south-east, the curving bank of the Thames on the north-west and west, and the hills of East Ilsley, Lambourne, and Ashbury, or the vicinity, on the south; and," he adds, "they owned Calleva, or Wallingford, for their chief city. The Segontiaci," he says, "inhabited a little remainder of Berkshire, and the adjoining north of Hampshire, the Cunetus, or Kennet, flowing through their dominions in the former, and their principal town being Vindomis, or Silchester, in the latter. The proper Belgæ enjoyed the rest of Hampshire, held all Wiltshire except a small district in the south-west, and had Winchester for their Venta, or head town. But these," adds Whitaker, "appear to have attacked the Segontiaci before the Roman arrival, and to have seized their dominions, all the possessions of the latter being pretty plainly attributed to the former by Ptolemy."*

This extract from Whitaker slightly militates against the view that has been taken; a "little remainder" of Berkshire, he thinks, was occupied by the Segontiaci; and a seizure of their dominions before the Roman invasion is assumed, which implies a transfer of power, and expulsion of the tribe; but this implication is not borne out by the "Commentaries," for Cæsar distinctly recognizes them as one of the surrendering states, and mentions them second in his enumeration. They are, however, not noticed by Ptolemy.

Whether some few of the Hampshire tribe occupied this "little remainder" is unimportant as affecting the main point, because our author speaks with decision, that "Vindomis, or Silchester, was their principal town, while Calleva, or Wallingford, was the chief city of the Atrebatii."

The same author, referring to the many strongholds which the Roman warriors met with in their reduction of Britain, remarks: "They found more than twenty among two nations only upon the southern shore of the island.† They met with Camulodunum, the capital of Cunobeline's kingdom, which they formed into a colony; Verulamium, a city of the Cassii, which they modelled into a municipium; and Caleva or Wallingford, Durnovaria or Dorchester, in the west,

* "History of Manchester," vol. i. p. 92.

† "Vespasianus" ("Suetonius," p. 240. Oxon).

Eboracum or York, Isurium or Aldborough in Yorkshire, and many others, which they afterwards converted into stations." *

Now let us look into the history of Silchester, bearing in mind that, to uphold the Caleva-Silchester theory of Horsley, it should be shown that that place was, both in the time of Ptolemy and also in that of Antoninus, the Atrebatian capital, or within or annexed to the Atrebatian district, because both the Calcuæ of the one and the Caleva of the other are plainly stated to be of the Atrebatii.

There is good reason for supposing that Silchester did not exist at the time of Ptolemy, except as the chief town of the Segontiaci, or as the Vindomis of the "Itineraries;" and here the dates I have quoted will be of use to us.

The ancient name of the site on which Silchester is built, was *Caer Segeint*, or *Segon*, as we learn from Nennius,† a British historian of the seventh century, and from Henry of Huntingdon and others. As the name signifies, it was the chief town of the Segontiaci. Segontium, as the capital of that tribe, occurs frequently on the coins of Cunobeline. This further appears from an inscription on a stone dug out of the ruins in 1732, to the effect that one Tammonius dedicated an altar to "Hercules of the Segontiaci." It runs thus: "*Deo Herculi Sægontiacorum, Titus Tammonius, Sæni Tammonii Vitalis filius, ob honorem.*" Professor John Ward‡ remarks that no less than six altars have been found at Silchester dedicated to Hercules; and after quoting the above inscription, and stating that Camden§ and Gale "rightly take Vindomis, as it is called by Antonine, now Silchester, to have been the capital town of the Segontiaci, but that Horsley||

* "Tac. Ann," bk. I. ch. ix. sec. 1.

† "Catalogue of British Cities."

According to Beale Poste, the first manuscript edition of Nennius was in the year 822, by Marcus, a Briton, who was an Irish bishop. Several editions followed, and a reproduction of all the editions in 946.

‡ *Archæological Journal*, vol. xliii.

§ "Higher up among the Segontiaci on the north edge of the county (Hampshire) was their city Vindonum, which dropped its own name, and took that of the nation."—Camden, vol. i. p. 121.

|| "Silchester was anciently called *Caer Segonte* (Camd. 47), which seems to imply that it belonged to the Segontiaci, and not to the Atrebatæ, but the name depends, I think, on the authority of Nennius . . . and may not be altogether certain."—Horsley, "*Brit. Rom.*," 457.

differs from both," adds, "Had this short inscription offered itself to these learned writers, none of them could have been at any further doubt either in placing Vindomis, and not Calleva (which belonged to the Atrebates), where Silchester now stands, or including this town within the limits of the Segontiaci." And the author who writes upon "Certain Roman Roads and Towns in the South of Britain, A.D. 1836," states, "The word 'Segontiaci' remains to destroy the possibility of its (Silchester) ever having been the Atrebatian Caleva." Burton,* referring to the same people, asserts, "Their principal city was Vindonum; by the Britons it was called Caer Segont, as at this day it is called Silchester."

The Rev. James Gerald Joyce, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxx., considers that the Segontiaci were a native British race—Caer Segont being their stronghold—who were driven westward before the wave of invasion, when a tribe of Belgic Gauls, called Atrebates, overflowed out of their own territories into Britain, and securely established themselves in this country. This view receives some support from the known fact that many of the native tribes were driven out of their own territory when the southern part of this island was occupied by the Gaulish colonies, but there is no evidence to show that the Segontiaci were one of those tribes, and that the Atrebatii supplanted them, and the fact before mentioned, that the Segontiaci were one of the maritime states that surrendered to Cæsar, forbids our concluding that they had been driven away from their territory, while it shows that they were located within the radius of the vanquished country.

The name Silchester does not seem to carry us back to a remote period. There are stupendous walls now existing which are built chiefly of flint pebbles; hence, as some one suggests, Sile-chester or Silchester may be a contraction of Silicis Castrum, the "fortress of flint." A writer in the *Archæological Journal*, 1840, remarks, "The name seems to denote that it was fortified by Silius (Sillii castra), and thereby acquired his name after the date of the 'Itineraries.'" Another writer points to the name as indicating a locality adapted to the growth of vines, and observes that an estate in

* "Commentary of Antoninus' Itinerary," p. 205.

the neighbourhood still bears the name of the Vine. Now vines do not appear to have been introduced into this country till the time of Probus, who was Emperor A.D. 276 to 282, some fifty or sixty years after the original Itinerary of Antoninus had been written. Amongst the various trees, says Whitaker, which the Romans introduced into Britain, the most curious undoubtedly was the vine. That the Romans were the original introducers, we need no other testimony than the British appellations of it. It was pretty certainly brought into Britain a little after vines had been carried over all the kingdoms of Gaul, and about the middle or towards the close of the third century. There is every reason to believe, says Mr. Roach Smith, that the vine was introduced into Britain by the Romans. Vopiscus carries its antiquity in Britain to about A.D. 280.

When we look at the ground plan of the city, the figure presents a very irregular octagon, and lacks the rectangular form, which tends to show that the original site was not of the early Roman period. Doubtless, as the inscriptions prove, the place had an earlier origin as the chief forest stronghold of the Segontiaci, when defences were constructed of earth and the felled trees of the surrounding woods; and probably at a later period it existed, when this rude system of defence gave way as civilization and science advanced; indeed, a stone has been found there with an inscription in compliment to Julia Domna, as patroness of the Roman army and Senate. She was the second wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus, and died A.D. 217. But I can find nothing beyond conjecture to justify a supposed connection between the city and the Calleva of the Atrebatii. Kempe, in his article in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxvii., "thinks it probable that the place existed as the chief fastness of the Segontiaci"—not, it must be observed, as the capital of the Atrebatii—at the time of Cæsar's expedition into Britain. Henry of Huntingdon states that "Caer Segon" (not Calleva) "was destroyed, and that all its inhabitants were put to the sword about the year 493 by the Saxon chief Ella, in his march from Sussex, where he landed, to Bath." Sir R. Colt Hoare, however, in his "Ancient Wilts," dates the destruction near the end of the third century, when Asclepiodotus came over to Britain to suppress the usurpation of Allectus.

It may be added that no mention of the name of "Silchester" occurs till the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth, who flourished in the reign of Henry I.

The reverend author last quoted, and who has had a long and intimate connection with Silchester, and been a close observer of the interesting discoveries that have taken place there, tells us that a degree of mystery pervades the story of its rise and fall, and he gives prominent mention to the fact that not one British coin has been found, nor the slightest trace of British occupation has been anywhere recognized, adding that Silchester has never been lived upon or built over by any subsequent civilization, and remains at the hour he wrote—in 1873—exactly as it was when the hand of destruction first overtook it. Roman coins, it appears, have been found from the time of Caligula, A.D. 37 to 41, down to Arcadius, about A.D. 405, but the coins of the later Emperors were much the more frequent, the most copious supply yielded having been of the period of Constantine the Great. Referring to the Roman remains and to the apparent alterations of some rooms of what he considers to have been an official residence, Mr. Joyce remarks, "One naturally longs to light upon some clue to the periods when such alterations were effected—the only possible guide is to be found in the dates of the coins discovered at the several levels, and as coins (especially of the earlier Emperors) continued in use after the time of the imperial person whose head they bore, they can give but an approximate indication. In the deepest portion a coin was found as ancient as the reign of the first Claudius (the date being about A.D. 50) among the walls; in the second series coins of Antoninus Pius and Commodus occur; in the third series many pieces were met with of the period of Gallienus Victorinus * and Claudius II. In the uppermost of all lay a numerous crop of 'folles,' and a small bronze, of the reigns of Diocletian,† Maximianus,‡ Carausius, Constantine, and his successors, and in fact most of the succeeding Emperors, down to the withdrawal of the Roman power from Britain."

Now, at first sight, the discovery of Roman coins of the time of Caligula and Claudius appears to conflict with the opinion that has been expressed as to the time of the founda-

* Emperor from A.D. 263 to 268. † Emperor, A.D. 284 to 305.

‡ A.D. 308 to 313.

tion of Silchester, but it will be observed that the coins found of a date prior to that of Gallienus Victorinus were very few, and, as Joyce remarks, the discovery of such coins affords but slight indication as to the time of the construction of buildings, because the earlier coinage, particularly that of the period referred to, continued in use long after the deaths of the Emperors whose effigies they bore; but when found in great numbers, as appears to have been the case when the Constantine period was reached—for the supply then, we are told, "was most copious"—evidence is afforded of a much stronger character, and may bear out the suggestion in the next passage.

The Roman remains that have been found at Silchester, and particularly the course of the diverging roads, have been relied on as the strong argument in support of the Caleva-Silchester theory. But what are the relics of Roman occupation that have been discovered? We read of the magnificent temple with Corinthian columns, the forum, the hall of justice, the sumptuous villas, the porticoes, and the baths, traces of which are still to be seen; but the existence of traces of buildings of this character tends to confirm the opposite conclusion, and to show that Silchester belonged, not to the period of progressive conquest, nor to the time of Ptolemy, but to the settled era of peace, when both the conquerors and the conquered vied with each other in securing the general improvement of the country, and when the arts and sciences and luxury of Rome had taken deep root among the native population; in fact, we may reasonably conclude that the development of the forest stronghold into an important city did not commence before Roman dominion had become thoroughly established; and that the situation of the town was selected, not as a military station, but as central and convenient for the collection of dues and taxes, and the advancement of the civil government, according to the laws and customs of Rome. As an important military station at the period of invasion, or as a place to which the Roman arms were likely to be attracted, there is absolutely nothing in its position—no natural advantages whatever to render such a notion probable; and the conclusion we are forced to arrive at is that Silchester, if it existed, had not attained any importance before the reign of Constantius I. (Chlorus).

With respect to the roads, it may be remarked that the original construction of most of the Roman ways was coincident with the gradual subjugation of the island; but we are told in the "Notitia" that they were rearranged and altered, and many of them abandoned, in the time of the second Theodosius (A.D. 408). The commencement of this work (the formation of Roman roads) is imputed to the Emperor Trajan, but at what period of his reign (A.D. 98 to 117) does not appear; probably, therefore, from the time of Trajan down to the reign of Theodosius, the work was proceeding. Routes were changed, new termini chosen, stations altered, and others tacked on. We must not, therefore, too readily accept, as evidence of *early* Roman occupation, the existing vestiges of Roman roads, particularly those which have been classed as military.

But before we leave Silchester, another point suggests itself. Horsley, as we have seen, was the first to shift Calleva from Wallingford to Silchester, to which place the Roman name of Vindomis had been previously applied. The question, therefore, naturally arises, What has become of Vindomis? So far from the advocates of the Caleva-Silchester theory being agreed on the new site, a great diversity of opinion prevails among them, for nearly all these learned archæologists arrive at different conclusions. Gale, Stukeley, Dr. Becke, and others place Vindomis at Silchester; Horsley at Farnham; Reynolds at the Vine; Sir Richard Colt Hoare at Finkley Farm, beyond Whitchurch and St. Mary Bourne; Leman near Andover in the way to Salisbury; Black at Winchester; and Henry MacLaughten takes it about six hundred yards on the south of the Portway and two hundred yards to the west of the deep entrenchment called Devil's Ditch or Dyke, the distance of which spot is about seventeen miles from Silchester; while others leave the position uncertain. All that appears clear is that Vindomis was an Itinerary station between Calleva and Venta Belgarum, which, according to Nennius, Camden, Stukeley, Becke, and others, occupied the site of Silchester.

But let us admit, as a passing and possible theory, that Silchester had attained at the time of Antoninus, as it undoubtedly did some time afterwards, great eminence, and that the shifting of the Atrebatian capital did actually take place,

one's mind at once points to Wallingford as the true Calleva Atrebatum of Ptolemy, in the earlier period of Roman occupation, which in after times might have lost its grandeur, and transferred its dignity, under name of Calleva, to the customs' station, now called Silchester.

The generally accepted opinion that the Calcuæ of Ptolemy and the Caleva of Antoninus refer to one and the same place rests, however, on mere conjecture; the places may have been distinct. Black, in his "Itinerary," mentions Calleva Atrebatum and Caleva Belgarum.

Before we leave this part of our subject, it will be well to note that a considerable number of flint implements have been found in the immediate neighbourhood of Wallingford by, among others, Captain Trollope, who has favoured me with the letter of which the following is an extract:—

"I send you a few particulars respecting the Neolithic flint implements I have found on the surface in this neighbourhood. They consist of ground hatchets, some very rough, chipped implements that have apparently been used as hatchets probably for scooping out boats, borers, rough chisels, scrapers, rude spear-heads and javelin-tips, knives, trimmed flakes, sling stones, pounding stones, arrow-heads barbed and leaf-shaped, and small flakes that have apparently been used as arrow-heads without any secondary chipping, stick-scrapers, etc. On the Oxfordshire side they are found upon and on the western bases of Beggarbush Hill, Crowmarsh Hill, Grimsdyke, North Stoke Hill, South Stoke Hill, and Goring, being in all cases the chalk hill nearest to the river. On the Berkshire side they are found at the base of Streatley Hill, King's Standing Hill, and the neighbourhood of Loringdon. I have found no traces of them on or in the vicinity of the Wittenham Hills, or indeed in any part of the neighbourhood to the northward of Wallingford. Our forefathers appear to have been utilitarians and economists, many of the missiles and pounding stones being formed out of ground hatchets that have been condemned as unserviceable in their original capacity. I have two small hatchets, remade from larger ground ones. I have found sling stones that appear to have been remade from flints, showing work of a far earlier date, pointing to the fact that the Neolithic period is of very prolonged duration.

"I have lately obtained a very fine Palæolithic flint implement from the neighbouring Turner's Court gravel-pit, and have found one hatchet and many minor implements in the ballast of the Great Western Railway derived probably from the Taplow gravel-pits; and also found one oval Palæolithic flint implement on the surface near Ipsden, apparently from a gravel-pit in the neighbourhood. Some of the hills there look as if they would yield implements of the River-drift period.

"I am, etc.,

"J. HERBERT TROLLOPE."

CHAPTER II.

ROMAN PERIOD—*continued.*

IN the preceding chapter we have endeavoured to show—

1st. That the Calleva-Wallingford theory is not so devoid of probability as some of our modern historians would have us suppose.

2nd. That the Atrebatii were a distinct and independent Berkshire tribe at the time of the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and that Calleva, now Wallingford, was their capital.

3rd. That Silchester belongs to the later period of Roman occupation, and can claim no connection with the Calleva of the "Itineraries," except as an adjoining station.

On these points the subsequent chapters will afford further and more conclusive proof.

We will now consider the vexed question of the passage of the river by Julius Cæsar, and the attack on Cassivellaunus, and the relation the town is supposed to bear to these events.

Cæsar's own descriptions are too indefinite to enable us to trace with any certainty the line of his march, and Kemble, in his "Anglo-Saxons,"* referring to the passage of the river, says, "It is probable that just here some portion of his memoirs has been lost, for in the nineteenth chapter of the fifth book he distinctly says, 'Cassivellaunus ut supra demonstravimus, omni deposita spe contentionis,' but nothing now remains in what we possess to which these words can possibly be referred."

This state of uncertainty has led to much contention for the honour of possessing the famous ford, which may be regarded as the key to the Roman conquest of this island—if conquest it can be called. There is scarcely a local

* Vol. ii. p. 276.

historian along the river between Kingston and Oxford who does not put in a claim for the town he is seeking to immortalize. Richmond, Kingston, Walton, Chertsey, Staines, Bray, and Henley, all find able advocates, and each of these places, we are told, is the situation of this ford. The information of one of these historians leads him to assert that there was but one ford on the river, and that was certainly at Kingston, and therefore the claim of Kingston alone is tenable; whereas Sir Richard Colt Hoare fixes upon Richmond, because, he says, it was the first ford on the Thames. Amidst all this conflict of opinion it will be well first briefly to consider the account Cæsar himself gives of his movements in Britain on his first and second expeditions.

Cæsar's First Expedition.

This was undertaken chiefly, it would seem, for the purpose of acquiring a knowledge of the character of the people, their localities, harbours, and landing-places. His purpose having been reported to the Britons by merchants, ambassadors went to him from several states of the island to promise submission, whereupon Cæsar despatched to Britain Comius, who, upon subduing the Atrebates in Gaul, had been created king there, and whose influence was considered to be great in this country. He was ordered to visit as many states as he could, and persuade the tribes to embrace the protection of the Roman people. On leaving his ship, however, he was taken prisoner, and thrown into chains.

Cæsar reached Britain with the first squadron of ships in the early autumn B.C. 55. There he saw the forces of the enemy drawn up in arms on all the hills, presenting a formidable appearance. A determined attempt was made to prevent the Romans from landing, but as soon as they had made good their footing on dry ground, they attacked the Britons with great effect, and put them to flight. Thus vanquished, the Britons negotiated for peace, Comius, who had been released from prison, being one of the ambassadors sent to Cæsar for the purpose. The Roman general yielded to their entreaties, imposed hostages, and received the submission of the chiefs and the surrender of their states. But peace was not established, for the Britons, having discovered the small extent of Cæsar's camp, and that his cavalry had

not arrived owing to a great storm, determined to renew the war. After two desperate attacks they succumbed to superior discipline, turned their backs, and fled. Then again they negotiated for peace, and Cæsar, being desirous to return to Gaul before the setting in of the equinoctial gales, demanded double the number of hostages, embarked with his fleet, and returned in safety.

Thus ended the first expedition, which we are told by Horsley occupied from July or August to the 20th of September, giving three weeks after Cæsar had concluded his peace with the Britons.

It may be safely assumed that Wallingford was not reached on this occasion.

Cæsar's Second Expedition.

In the next year, B.C. 54, Cæsar returned to the shores of Britain, with an army far exceeding in numbers that by which he was accompanied on his first expedition.

The points of embarkation and landing are alike doubtful, and have been the subject of much discussion by different writers. According to Horsley, the Romans landed in the month of May, eight or ten miles north of Dover, at a place near Richborough, supposed to be now washed away by the sea; Wright considers they landed on the line of coast between Folkestone and Sandwich; other historians fix the locality at various places from Deal to the neighbourhood of Lymne. But in a paper read before the Society of Antiquaries in 1866, the Astronomer Royal, Professor Airy, contends that when Cæsar left the Rhine to proceed on his expedition against Britain, he was deterred from marching into the country of the Morini by the thick and extensive forests, held by hostile tribes, which intervened, and that, avoiding these, he marched to the mouth of the Somme, where he assembled his fleet, and sailing thence, landed at Pevensey, the site of the Roman town of Anderida. Wright, in his "Wanderings of an Antiquary," tells us that the professor gets over the difficulty of Cæsar's statement that the distance from shore to shore was only thirty Roman miles by supposing that this number may be an error of the copyists of the manuscript, suggesting that as the Latin word *proficiscitur* indicates setting out on a journey, and not neces-

sarily completing it, the words "in Morinos proficiscitur" signify only that he set out with the intention of going into the country of the Morini, but that they do not militate against the supposition that he changed his first design and turned off to the south.

The appearance of so many Roman ships approaching the shore alarmed the Britons, who quitted the coast, and concealed themselves among the higher points; and here, about twelve Roman miles from the camp, by the side of a river, the first battle took place, but the Britons were repulsed, and afterwards expelled from another strong position they occupied. Further progress was delayed in consequence of intelligence Cæsar received that a great storm had almost dashed his ships to pieces, and cast them on the shore. Ten days and nights, we are told, of incessant labour, were occupied in getting these shattered ships repaired, and when done, he recommenced his march in the same direction as before. The Britons, in the interval, had employed the time in composing their tribal differences, and had assembled together in greater force at the same place. They entrusted the chief command of the war to Cassivellaunus, whose territory is said to have been the present county of Hertford; but as it appears that this chief had been gradually reducing under his sway the tribes around him, and those who had united under him comprised the south-eastern parts of the island, the area of his territory must have been much more extensive than any one county. Cæsar does not enlighten us on this point further than by stating that the territories of this chief were divided from the maritime states by the river Thames at about eighty miles from the sea. And in his twelfth chapter he tells us that the interior portion of Britain was inhabited by those who it is said were born in the island itself; that the maritime portion was inhabited by those who had passed over from the country of the Belgæ, for the purpose of plunder and making war, almost all of whom were called by the names of those states from which they had sprung, and, having waged war, continued there, and began to cultivate the lands. The number of the people, he says, is countless, and their buildings exceedingly numerous. They use either brass or iron rings determined at a certain weight, as their money. There, as in Gaul, is timber of every description except beech and fir.

In the next chapter he gives a geographical description of the island, and refers to Kent as being the most civilized, and as entirely a maritime district.

The narrative goes on to show that, under the command of Cassivellaunus, vigorous skirmishing took place, and that the Roman legions and their auxiliaries were exposed to constant attacks, in the course of which they lost many men; while the woods, which appear to have covered or skirted the country through which Cæsar marched, gave a secure shelter to the Britons. Afterwards the Romans made a determined assault on the enemy, whom they put to flight, and pursued and slew a great number, giving them no opportunity either of rallying, or halting, or leaping from their chariots, "and from that time," says Cæsar, "the enemy never again engaged with us in very large numbers."

In the next passage we are told that Cæsar, "discovering their design" (it is not stated what the design was), led his army into the territories of Cassivellaunus, to the river Thames, which river, he states, was fordable only on foot at one place, and that with difficulty: "*quod flumen uno omnino loco pedibus, atque hoc ægre, transiri potest.*" When Cæsar arrived on its banks at this spot, he saw the enemy drawn up in great numbers on the opposite side, which, as well as the bed of the river, was fortified with sharp stakes fixed therein: "*Ripa autem erat acutis sudibus præfixis munita, ejusdemque generis sub aqua defixæ sudes, flumine tegebantur.*"

Not discouraged by these obstacles, he commanded the cavalry to ford the river, and the infantry to follow close after. But the soldiers advanced with such speed and such ardour, though they stood above the water by their heads only, that the enemy could not sustain the attack of the legions and of the horse, but quitted the banks and committed themselves to flight.

This is the substance of the account Cæsar himself gives in his "Commentaries;" but there are historians who contend that he was obliged to abandon his enterprise, and cross the river at a point higher up the country—and this point, according to Kennett, was Wallingford.

In chapter xix. Cæsar tells us that Cassivellaunus, abandoning all hope of success, dismissed the greater part of his forces, who had become dispirited, retaining only about four

thousand charioteers. With this small force the British general watched the marches of the Roman forces, retiring out of their way. Thus he cleared the whole country through which their road lay, both of men and cattle. In the mean time the different tribes, making a merit of their personal hostility towards Cassivellaunus, sought an alliance with the invaders. The Trinobantes, nearly the most powerful state of those parts, were the first who offered to submit. Their example was immediately followed by the Cennimagni, the Segontiaci, the Ancalites, the Bibroci, and the Cassi; and then the envoys of these tribes having informed Cæsar that the capital town of Cassivellaunus was not far off, he marched thither and captured it.

He defines a town to be a place fortified by the Britons, with an entrenchment and rampart, in which they assemble.

An unsuccessful attack on the naval camp of the Romans was followed by the surrender of Cassivellaunus, his offer of submission having been made through the mediation of the Atrebatian Comius, whose proposals were accepted; and Cæsar embarked, carrying with him hostages, which he had taken from the British chiefs, as pledges for the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty.

In considering the foregoing outline of the narrative, it must be borne in mind that the account it gives of Cæsar's movements and successes is based on his own description, and allowance must be made for the natural bias which an historian, recording his own exploits, may be considered to have. His account varies from the relation of these proceedings by some British writers, who speak more favourably of their own country's resistance; and Cicero, in a letter to his brother Quintus, remarks, "Affairs in Britain afford neither matter of fear nor joy."

Asinius Pollio goes so far as to state, "Cæsar wrote his 'Commentaries' with little care, and no great regard for truth."

Bishop Kennett speaks with great decision in connecting Cæsar's movements with Wallingford, in the second chapter of his "*Parochial Antiquities*," to which I would ask the reader to refer. He thinks it next to certain that Cæsar brought his forces across the Thames at Wallingford, and he adduces many arguments in order to show the connection of the Romans with the town, as *Calleva Atrebatum*.

The main points on which he relies, embrace—

The mission of Comius by Cæsar to dispose the Britons to subjection, and the natural impulse the Atrebatian would have to get among his own countrymen, who inhabited Berkshire, and to their principal city upon the bank of the Thames, called Calleva Atrebatum, the metropolis of that people. Here the interest and authority of Comius lay, although a temporary suspension took place during his imprisonment.

The interpretation of King Alfred of the passage in the "History of the World" by Orosius, that the third battle of the Romans took place near the river at Wallingford, and the confirmatory opinion of William of Poictou, are referred to as strong supports of his arguments; while the name of the old town, Camden's description of Roman remains in the fortifications, and the discovery in these parts of two coins, mentioned by Camden, one inscribed "Rex," and on the reverse "Com," which he agrees in interpreting as Comius King of the Atrebatii, and the other bearing the inscription "Rex Calle," as referable to the city Calleva,—give to the bishop's opinion something far beyond conjecture, if not as much authority as any matter of fact is capable of, which is not expressly proved.

Among those who have combated the arguments of the bishop are Hearne, Daines Barrington, and Dr. Owen. The former, in his preliminary observations on Browne Willis's "Mitred Abbeyes," will not admit that any town existed here in Cæsar's time, much less that the site of Wallingford was the place where the passage across the Thames took place, because, he states, it is directly contrary to what Cæsar has written. Then a point is made, both by Hearne and Barrington, of the statement that Cæsar had not heard of any beech trees in Britain, whereas if he had come to Wallingford he must necessarily have met with an abundance of them. He rejects the passage out of the Saxon Orosius, because he considers it is not of the age of King Alfred, and may have accidentally slipped into the work, and because it is against what Cæsar himself asserts.

With respect to the coins mentioned by Camden, he conjectures they were found in Gaul, and signify Comius King of the Atrebates there, or some other king, and he cannot bring himself to believe that "Calle" stands for Calleva.

Another reviewer is the Hon. Daines Barrington, who, in

the *Archæologia*,* not only differs from Kennett, but "ventures to suppose that Cæsar's army never forded the river now called the Thames;" and in order to show that so famous a river could not have been referred to, he draws attention to the cursory way in which Cæsar speaks of it, "*flumen quod vocatur Thamesis*;" adding that so capital a river could not have but engaged the curiosity and attention of a Roman from its tide, which is not experienced in any river that empties itself into the Mediterranean Sea; and he notes the fact that such a city as London on its bank does not seem to have been heard of by Cæsar.

Referring to the stakes at Coway, our author considers they were only the remains of a fishing weir, and he quotes Cæsar's own words to show that the stakes used to oppose his passage were not covered with lead; and therefore he contends that those at Coway must have been used for some other purpose.

Barrington considers that a misleading influence, or what he terms an "amiable prejudice," in favour of this district, led Kennett to assume that Comius persuaded Cæsar to ford the Thames at Wallingford, as being in the district of the Atrebrates, whereas he contends that the people of that name did not inhabit the inland county of Berks, but the eastern coast, probably, of Kent.

Referring to the Saxon version of Orosius, he can find no trace of the passage quoted by the royal translator, who could have had no reliable "authority with regard to the assertion except Cæsar's '*Commentaries*,' by which it appears to have been the seventh battle or skirmish, and not the third."

The parallel drawn by William of Poictou between Cæsar and the Conqueror is rejected, because Wallingford is not mentioned; and in reference to the argument of Kennett from the etymology of the name Wallingford, Barrington remarks it must mean "the ford of the strangers." The termination of the name, he considers, affords no evidence of a ford, and he instances several places where there are no streams at all, or mere rills, which bear that termination; and having recourse to the British signification, he construes the word to mean a road.

The distance test is another argument employed by

* Vol. ii. p. 141.

Barrington for excluding Wallingford. Referring to the Roman *passus*, as being equal to the common step, or two feet and a half, he remarks, "According to this method of computing a Roman mile, Coway stakes would be twice the distance, and Wallingford three times as much as the eighty miles mentioned by Cæsar."

Reverting to his argument that there was another river then known by the appellation of Tamesa, he quotes the passage from the sixtieth book of Dion Cassius as proof to demonstration that the Romans understood by the Thames a different river from that which has now obtained that name, and asks, "Could our ancestors have built a bridge over the Thames where it empties itself into the sea?"

In the same volume of the *Archæologia*,* the Rev. Dr. Owen expresses a like opinion, and adds, "Our river is in no wise correspondent to Cæsar's account. It cannot be said to divide any place in Britain from the maritime towns of Kent but Essex, nor probably that, whereas the Medway answers the description in every respect. It divides the county into two parts, and that at a distance of eighty miles from the sea, following the course of the river."

The doctor then goes on to argue that "Cæsar had neither time nor opportunity during the second expedition to reach the river Thames." But it is manifest, as we shall see hereafter, that the doctor's remarks apply to the first short expedition, and not to the second.

Various are the issues raised by these several authors in opposition to the opinions of Kennett and others, but they may be all classed, and will come in review under the following heads, which it is proposed next to consider:—

1st. The passage of the river, and the attack on Cassivellaunus.

2nd. The Coway stakes.

3rd. The assumed connection of Comius with these parts.

4th. The admissibility of King Alfred's testimony, and the translation of Orosius.

5th. The absence of beech trees.

6th. The distance test, as based on Cæsar's "Commentaries."

* Vol. ii. p. 159.

- 7th. River Thames or Medway.
- 8th. The capital town of Cassivellaunus.
- 9th. The probable extension of Julius Cæsar's march to Wallingford.

1st. On the first point, namely, the ford by which Julius Cæsar crossed the Thames.

There is nothing in Cæsar's narrative to mark the spot where he crossed. The words "*a mari circiter millia passuum LXXX.*" do not indicate the point of attack, as Hearne and Barrington would lead us to suppose, but refer to the approximate distance of the dominions of Cassivellaunus from the sea; and who can say what that approximate distance might have been in English miles, when there are scarcely two authorities in agreement on the point?

It is certainly reasonable to suppose that Cæsar would have taken the most direct route, in endeavouring to reach these dominions. The heavy armour of his soldiers must have rendered a long march through a hostile country, much wooded and without roads, irksome, and therefore improbable; and it was hazardous, says Cæsar, to go far away from the main body, alluding to the time when he was in pursuit of the enemy. Speed tells us that the armour of Cæsar's soldiers was "*a heavy helmet, corslet, and boots all of brass or iron, with a large target, a strong two-edged sword, and a great staffe, or club, headed with an iron pike.*" Speed may not be much of an authority on Roman costume; but it is obvious that the ancient armour of the Roman soldiers was of considerable weight, and must have seriously impeded their movements, particularly in the summer season, and it is not likely, therefore, that the Roman general would have prolonged his march, except under circumstances of urgent necessity. If, therefore, we are to assume that his fleet was anchored near Dover, and the enemy's territory lay some eighty Roman miles off, Wallingford would certainly appear to have been too far distant to be selected as the place near which the attack on Cassivellaunus took place, unless circumstances had occurred, as suggested by Kennett, to necessitate a march higher up the river. But if, as some authorities assert, the Romans did not start for this second expedition from the country of the Morini, but from the

mouth of the river Somme, and landed in the neighbourhood of Pevensey, then Wallingford would be brought considerably nearer to the fleet, and the distance would not so greatly exceed that by which the nearest point of Cassivellaunus's territories could have been reached as to place Wallingford beyond the range of probability.

A subsequent chapter shows what a remarkable diversity of opinion exists as to the length of the Roman mile, when measured by the English scale. But taking, for the sake of argument, the Roman mile, according to the opinion of many writers, to be one thousand six hundred and eleven yards and two feet, it would be less than the English mile by, say, one hundred and forty-eight yards, which would make the eighty Roman miles about equal to seventy-three English; whereas the distance in a direct line between Pevensey and Wallingford is about eighty-eight miles,—no very great difference, considering that Cæsar, in giving an approximate distance, had no certain data to guide him.

Assuming, however, that the forces of Cassivellaunus were not encountered at or near Wallingford—and I cannot contend that they were—the crossing of the river at that place might have taken place after the submission of the British chief, as mentioned hereafter.

2nd. *Coway Stakes.* It has been very generally considered that the river was forded at a place called Coway, near Chertsey or Oatlands. Camden and Hearne are of this opinion, but Barrington and Hoare take an opposite view, and so far agree with Kennett, although for a different reason. Cæsar's account of the passage across the obstructed channel by so large an army, "up to their chins in water," and of the precipitate flight of the enemy, seems to partake of the marvellous, and may reasonably suggest a doubt whether the river was forded at this place. Besides, there is express authority for the bishop's opinion that the stakes led to a retreat, in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," which is a valuable historical record, by many successive authors from the time of Cæsar's invasion to the middle of the twelfth century. It contains the following passage:—

"Cæsar went south into Gaul, and there collected six hundred ships, with which he came again into Britain, and as they first rushed together, the Emperor's gerrefa was slain.

He was called Labienus. Then the Welsh took large and sharp stakes, and drove them into the fording-place of a certain river under water. This river was called Thames. When the Romans discovered this, then would they not go over the ford. Then fled the Britons to the wood wastes, and the Emperor conquered very many of their chief cities after a great struggle, and departed again into Gaul."

The Venerable Bede, who appears to have derived confirmatory information from a London priest, named Nothelin, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, fixes on Coway as the site, and remarks that the Romans, having perceived the device, avoided it. But for the unequivocal language of Cæsar, Kennett's suggestion could not be met by any direct negative. We are not, however, obliged to believe that the stakes found at Coway were the identical ones mentioned by Cæsar. The strong inference is that these particular stakes had nothing to do with Cæsar's passage across the river. It is natural that Bede should have assumed Coway to have been the place, because it appears the stakes he describes were found there. Referring to the alleged fortification of the banks and bed of the stream, as mentioned by Cæsar, he says, "the remains of which stakes are to be seen there to this day; and it appears to the observer as though the several stakes, each about the thickness of a man's thigh, and cased with lead, were fixed immovably in the bed of the river." Wright* remarks, "Bede's account of these stakes is probably correct, but as it is not likely that in the hurry of a sudden defence, like that against Cæsar's march, the Britons would have the time to erect posts of this magnitude, and case them with lead, we are justified in supposing that the stakes existing in Bede's time were a Roman work of a later period, connected in some way with the navigation or fishery of the Thames, which we cannot now explain, and that they had nothing to do with Cæsar's passage of the river."

The position of the stakes is described by Barrington, who visited the spot about the year 1740. He states he found them, ranged "across the river." Somewhat later, Bray, the editor of Manning's "History of Surrey," paid a visit to Coway, and was told that the stakes were ranged

* "The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon," p. 36.

across the river in two rows, some nine feet apart, and he inclines to the opinion that the stakes were the remains of a bridge, but believes they were fixed years before Cæsar came into the island, and formed part of what he calls a "fortified ford," so distributed as to stop all transit, save along a narrow passage which would bring the passage directly under the command of the watch stationed on the northern bank to guard the ford and to receive the toll. These contrivances, he adds, agree with the means of defence which we know were adopted in other instances, particularly in Ireland.

One of these stakes, obtained in 1777, is preserved in the British Museum, and another is, or was, in the possession of the Earl of Shrewsbury.

Dr. Guest conjectures that the formation of the shallow at the spot indicated, was due to the action of the tide. "A spring tide," he says, "when backed by an east wind, comes up to Teddington Lock in great force, and sometimes rises above the Weir, and sweeps up the river to the next lock. The consequence is an accumulation of silt and gravel in front of Teddington Lock, which is a serious impediment to the navigation, and on which barges may sometimes be seen aground for days together before they can enter the lock. I think it probable that when the river was in its natural state, these spring tides ran up the river eight or nine miles further—in other words, to Coway, and that the deposit which they now leave at Teddington, then contributed to form the shallow over which Cæsar passed."

We have as a set-off against this reasoning, to consider the distance from Teddington, and also the counteracting effect of the strong downward current on the recession of the tide, which would have been sufficient, one would suppose, to scour the channel of the river. At any rate, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the combined action of stream and tide would dislodge the silt and gravel, and prevent a continued accumulation in any particular spot. At the present day the shoals in the river are continually shifting under the agency of the tide.

As to the distance, Walton is about nine miles, and Chertsey thirteen miles from Teddington Lock, which would be a long way for the tide to travel beyond its usual limit, to say nothing of the resisting influence presented by the fall

in the bed of the river, which is somewhere about twenty feet from Chertsey, and also by the acute curve in its course westward of Teddington. Dr. Guest himself testifies to the force of the stream when he says, "In Cæsar's time, before the London bridges were thought of, or London itself existed, I believe the downward current swept every obstruction before it, from the Coway stakes to the Nore."

Both Hearne and Barrington give another reason for opposing Kennett's suggestion of the onward march to Wallingford, which is that Cæsar, having expressed himself very positive that the Thames was fordable only at one place, would not have done an act which implies a knowledge that the river was passable at two places. But does Cæsar thus express himself? He uses the adverb "omnino," which may be construed to mean "in general." Horsley, quoting the passage in favour of Kingston, adds, "hereabouts," and others say that Cæsar must have meant the Lower Thames. But apart from this, the argument of Hearne and others, that there was only one ford, if supportable, amounts to an affirmation that a system of artificial contrivances to keep up the water then existed, more effective than the improved locks and weirs of modern construction, of which there are at the present time thirty-five on the river between Oxford and Teddington. Doubtless the Britons adopted some means of blocking up the water and utilizing it for the purpose of defence, or tribal boundary, or of fishing, or possibly navigation; were it not so, the river in its natural state would have been a succession of shoals and shallows and rapids throughout its entire course. There is no reason to believe that any very material change has taken place in the natural course or fall of the river since the time of the Romans. At the present day, at its source at Thames Head it is three hundred and seventy-six feet above the level of the sea; and the fall between Oxford and Teddington, a distance of ninety-six miles, is one hundred and forty feet.

Water-mills, by which, with the adjunct of the weir, the water for a long period of time has partially been kept up, were unknown to the Britons. Fosbrooke tells us they were "invented, according to Strabo, in Asia Minor, and appear to have been introduced in the time of Mithridates, Julius Cæsar, and Cicero, but were rare among the Romans."

Mills for grinding corn by water power are described by Vitruvius, who was a Roman architect in the time of Julius Cæsar; but it appears they were not introduced into Britain till after the reign of Vespasian, prior to which the simple expedient adopted by the Romans for reducing corn into flour was by pounding. This process was improved by the application of a grinding power, and the introduction of mill-stones, and afterwards the Romans added the more useful invention of the water-mill.* The hand-mill seems to have been in use, both by the Gauls and Britons, before the time of their submission to the Romans.†

It is manifest that the utilization of the river stream for the purpose of working mills was first applied at a date long after Cæsar had left our island, and that the damming up by the Britons, for whatever purpose used, must have been of a very rude construction, which left the Thames fordable at many places, particularly at the time to which we are referring, which was towards the autumn, when the springs were low, and the winter rains exhausted.

3rd. *Comius the Atrebatian.* The supposed connection of Comius with the Atrebatii of Berkshire is referred to, not only by Kennett, but by the other authorities quoted, as a circumstance in support of the Calleva-Wallingford theory; but Hearne's opposition to this hypothesis is eclipsed by the contention of others, that the Atrebatii, as before observed, were not even settled in Britain at the time of the invasion of Julius Cæsar, and therefore the inference is drawn that, in speaking of Comius "the Atrebatian," Cæsar must have been referring to the tribe of that name in Gaul. The ground for this inference has been already, it is submitted, satisfactorily rebutted, not only by Cæsar's own language, but by the testimony that has been adduced in order to show that the immigration of the Atrebatii from Gaul to Britain was long before Cæsar's time; and then, as pointing in the same direction, there is the close and continued alliance and intercourse between the tribes on either side of the Channel, which is admitted on all hands. Tacitus has expressly recorded that, in addition to an identity of religious rites, the languages of the Gauls and Britons were nearly the same. Other writers show that they had also the same customs, the same habits

* Pliny, lib. xviii.

† Strabo, p. 287.

and modes of life; and indeed, such was the similarity between them, that one is almost tempted to carry back one's thoughts to that remote age when no marine boundary existed between the two nations, and to suppose that the tribes of Gaul and Britain occupied the same undivided continent at the time the "Commentaries" were written. But the constant intercourse between both shores may be carried still further on; for it is recorded, as an example of this intercourse, that in Belgic Gaul, between Boulogne and Amiens, there dwelt a people in Pliny's time—about A.D. 70*—bearing the name of Britanni.

Speaking of the tribes of the Belgæ and the Atrebates, the Cenimagni on the Stour, and the Parisi on the Humber, Lappenberg states that their relationship to the Gaulish tribes of the same name seems unquestionable. "The Continental Gauls, to whom the Channel formed no intellectual barrier, were yet more closely united with the natives of Britain by the common religion of Druidism." And we have the authority of Cæsar, "Bell. Gall." bk. vi. ch. 13, for adding that the Gauls, though in general possessing a higher degree of cultivation than the Britons, were nevertheless accustomed to seek their more profound knowledge among the Druids of the latter.

It is not questioned that Comius was a king or chieftain among the Atrebates in Gaul, and it is reasonable, therefore, to suppose that he must have been closely allied to their brethren in Britain, with whom the Gaulish tribe was so intimately connected. Whether Wallingford was, as Browne Willis states, the royal seat of Comius, or whether, as Drs. Brady† and Kennett suggest, he was King of the Atrebates here at the time we are speaking of, must be a matter of conjecture. That he exercised powerful influence in this part of Britain is beyond doubt. He also possessed the confidence of Cæsar in a marked degree, although in after times that confidence was withdrawn on his attachment to the Romans giving place to his patriotic zeal for his own countrymen at the siege of Alesia. His "faithful and valuable services in Britain in former years" are mentioned

* Pliny, Hist. Nat., iv. 17.

† "History of England, from the Entrance of the Romans," by Robert Brady, M.D. (1685).

in "Bell. Gall.," bk. vii. ch. 76, and his merits were recognized by his mission to this country for the purpose of visiting the various tribes and persuading them to submit. This purpose was for a time frustrated, for he was seized upon leaving his ship, and kept in chains till the vanquished Britons desired to secure his services as ambassador to negotiate for peace; and when this was obtained, "the Britons returned to the country parts, and the chiefs assembled from all quarters to surrender themselves and their states to Cæsar." This was the first expedition. On the second, Comius is supposed to have commanded the cavalry, as they were thought to have been a Gaulish contingent, and Cæsar speaks of no Roman commander of them; but he again notes the eminent services of Comius, who became the chosen negotiator when Cassivellaunus surrendered his dominion. His was the master hand that secured a cession of territory, which must have embraced these parts. Horsley considers that the six states that surrendered to Cæsar were all subject to the dominion of Cassivellaunus, and the Roman general himself * asserts that that dominion extended along and was bounded by the river Thames; thus to some extent confirming Dr. Gale's conjecture that the Ancalites in Cæsar were the same people as the Atrebates in Ptolemy and Antonine's "Itinerary." If we accept this reading, the ceded territory extended from the Thames to the Channel. Perhaps it is not too much to say, looking at the identity between the Atrebates of Gaul and Britain, their common origin, and particularly at the position of Comius as king of one tribe and closely identified with the other, that the Berkshire tribe was probably one of the first upon which the widespread influence of the royal Atrebatian was exercised, by counselling their surrender.

Among other authorities for connecting Comius with these parts is Beale Poste, who states,† "During the second expedition, Comius must have marched into or near the territories of the British Atrebates, which lay on the south banks of the Thames, some forty or fifty miles above London. The idea, therefore, may have been more readily suggested, of placing Comius at the head of this branch of his countrymen in reward for his exertions, in the same way as Cæsar had already

* "Bell. Gal.," bk. v. ch. 11.

† *Archæological Journal*, vol. iii. p. 13.

given him the supreme authority over the portion which continued located in Gaul. There had been before a similar instance of transmarine sway in Divitiacus, who had held territories both in Gaul and Britain, of which Cæsar informs us himself in his 'Commentaries.' "

The reverend author winds up his argument by stating, "Whether the capital of the Atrebatii, Caleva, was Silchester or Wallingford, regarding which topographers have disputed, there is no point of ancient British geography more certain than that they were situated some forty or fifty miles above London, on the banks of the Thames, in or about Berkshire. So far have the rudiments first sketched out, and it appears not vaguely, by the great Camden, been developed."

Another authority is M. M. de la Saussaye, who, in his day, was one of the most eminent numismatists in France. In the *Revue Numismatique*,* he expresses his opinion that "during the time of Cæsar's invasion, Comius sought to obtain the brief occupation of the territory of the British Atrebates on the banks of the Thames;" and he mentions that "a few pieces of coin were struck in his honour."

We have probably said enough to establish the fact that Comius must have had an intimate acquaintance with the Atrebates of Berkshire, and was in some character or other connected with them. The numismatic evidence that follows points to that connection as being one of territorial rule, and shows that the old theory of Camden, Speed, and Kennett is not without foundation.

Up to the year B.C. 52, Comius retained the confidence of Cæsar. In the previous year he returned to Gaul with a detachment of cavalry, as a guard over the Menapii, while Cæsar himself proceeded against the Treviri. Soon after, we find that Comius deserted the Romans, and became a determined leader of the Gaulish league against the distinguished general to whom his allegiance was pledged; and an anecdote is related by Frontinus,† from which it appears that Comius, while being hotly pursued by Cæsar, escaped by stratagem from Gaul into Britain. The exact date appears uncertain, but in B.C. 51 he was again the chief of an alliance formed between the Atrebates and other tribes against the Romans, which ended unsuccessfully; and Comius, "having

* Vol. ii. p. 470.

† Lib. ii. ch. xiii. sec. 11.

lost the greatest part of his followers," surrendered to Antonius, assuring him that he would give hostages as a security that he would go wherever it should be prescribed, only entreating that he should not be obliged to go into the presence of any Roman ("Bell. Gall.," bk. viii. ch. 48). The subsequent events of his life are matters of doubt; but it is clear he entertained a great dread and hatred of the Romans, and that his former Gaulish subjects, both the Atrebatas and Morini and other adherents, had been completely reduced. It is natural, therefore, to suppose that his efforts would be directed to seek a shelter among his fellow-countrymen, the Atrebatas in Britain, who, probably approving of his antagonism to the Romans, and desperate prolongation of a hopeless contest with them, would be quite ready to receive and reinstate him in his former position. At all events, we hear no more of him in Gaul, while in the opinion of so great an authority as John Evans,* the numismatic evidence is sufficient to show, not only that he took up "his abode in Britain, but of his having again become the head of a confederation of tribes." There are numerous coins struck by three different princes, nearly, if not quite contemporary, though each apparently had a distinct territory of his own, all of whom place upon their coins the title of "Com. F. C. F.," or "Commi F." The letter "F" he interprets as the son of Comius, which is the generally accepted interpretation, although Beale Poste considers that letter to refer to a people. These coins belong, according to all the authorities, to the earliest period of the inscribed British coinage. "Tasciovanus," says Evans, "the father of Cunobeline, had an inscribed coinage, probably dating as far back as B.C. 30; we are justified in assigning to the coins of the sons of Comius a still earlier date." He also refers to some uninscribed coins found in the southern district, which he attributes to Comius the father. But we are told by Wright and others that we need not believe that the Comius of the coins is the same person as the Comius of Cæsar. On this point, adds Evans, "Whether there were only one Comius or two, the district we must assign, on numismatic authority, to the Comius who reigned in Britain seems to agree with what, from historic grounds, might have been assigned to the Comius of Cæsar." Now,

* "Ancient British Coins."

these coins of the Comian type have been discovered in the district supposed to have been occupied by the Belgic tribes. They have been chiefly found in Hampshire, Sussex, Surrey, and Kent, and several have been found in Berkshire, which circumstance gives weight to the supposition that the Comius of the coins and of Cæsar is one and the same person, because these coins appear to be peculiar to the district in which we know he had such influence in the days of the latter. "It is no unreasonable supposition," observes the eminent numismatist I have quoted, "that this Comius may have held the sovereign power over the various tribes of the district, and that at his death his dominions were divided among his three sons, possibly as rulers of the *Regni*, the *Atrebates*, and the *Cantii*." It will have been observed that the word "*Calle*," found on some of the silver coins, is supposed by Camden to refer to *Calleva*, the chief town of the *Atrebates*, as their place of mintage, and it is satisfactory to note that Evans, in assigning a meaning to this word, "is ready to agree with Camden, that it is not much unlike the name of that famous and frequented citie *Caleva*;"* which, I take it, is in effect an echo of that learned antiquary's opinion. Evans seems, however, disposed to fix on *Silchester*, and not *Wallingford*, as the true *Calleva*.

Beale Poste gives a little later date to the coins of Comius, and summarizes as follows, both authorities throwing weight into the scale in favour of the views of Kennett:—

About B.C. 21, the coins of Comius, semi-Gaulish and semi-British, appear.

B.C. 27, Augustus having reorganized the Gaulish provinces, the Gaulish coinage ceases, and only colonial coins of Gaul appear.

About B.C. 13 to A.D. 41, coins of Cunobeline abound in Britain, and about the same period those of the *Iceni*, and those of the *Brigantes*.

A.D. 41 to 44—the coinage of the sons of Cunobeline was struck during this period, and also coins bearing the designations of various states in Britain, as the *Cattivellauni*, *Atrebates*, and others.

A.D. 71, coins of the *Brigantes* cease in the partial con-

* "The word '*Calle*,'" says Evans, "found on some of his silver coins, seems to refer them to *Calleva*, the chief town of the *Atrebates*."

quest of that British state by *Petitius Cerealis*, the Roman commander, or possibly a few years afterwards, when they were finally conquered by *Agricola*.

Whitaker * asserts that the art of coining was practised by the *Atrebat*es at their capital, *Calleva*, *Caleva*, or *Wallingford*.

Camden, *Speed*, and others, have given us figures of several of these coins, and *Speed* refers to a gold coin of *Cassivellannus*. The legends on the coins are nearly, without exception, dissimilar to the Continental ones; and this circumstance in the case of *Comius* tends to confirm what has been stated, that that king had a territory in this country, as well as in *Gaul*, which bore the same name.

The two coins supposed to be those of *Comius*, which are figured in *Camden*, were the only ones that were then known to have been found. Since that time, several others, as before observed, have been discovered on the south of the *Thames*. They bear the names of *Comius*, *Epillus* son of *Comius*, *Verica* son of *Comius*, and *Tin*, or *Tinc*, son of *Comius*. "These inscriptions," says *Dr. Guest*, "cannot reasonably be construed to apply to a place, as has been urged by some historians; but with great reason it may be said that the *Comius* was the *Atrebat* whom *Cæsar* sent over to Britain to exercise the influence it is admitted he possessed;" and he adds, "We know that he (*Comius*) afterwards became a deadly enemy of the Romans, and that he fled to Britain to escape their vengeance. It is a reasonable conjecture that this Gaulish chief succeeded in establishing a principality among his countrymen, the British *Atrebat*es, and that he handed down his British dominions to his four sons above named."

Very lately a British gold coin of *Tinc[omius]* has been found in *Berkshire*, between *Wantage* and *Faringdon*, and is now in the possession of *Mr. E. C. Davey*, who has kindly given me the following description:—

"Gold coin of *Tinc[omius]*, found between *Wantage* and *Faringdon*.

"*Obverse*.—Portions of rude laureate bust originally copied from that on the gold staters of *Philip II*.

"*Reverse*.—*TINC. DV* [?] Rude three-tailed horse to the right. Above a crescent and pellet; below, a wheel; under the neck, a trefoil.—See *Evans's "Ancient British Coins," Pl. I. No. 12.*

* Vol. ii. p. 5.

Another British coin in silver was found a few years ago at Dorchester, Oxon, by Mr. Banister, of that place. On the obverse is VER (Verica, son of Comius), and on the reverse a horseman mounted. There is a beaded circle round both sides. This coin is also figured by Evans.

There is a passage in the "Commentaries" to the effect that the people of this country had no stamped coinage, but only ring money, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, which is misleading and erroneous, as the above facts show. Akerman thinks it is due to interpolation, but however this may be, all the numismatists agree that the Britons struck money previous to Cæsar's arrival. It was a solid metal coinage, concave on one side and convex on the other, and in the times referred to by Cæsar there was a silver coinage also, as we have seen. The "ring money," although it might occasionally have been applied for the purposes of money, was originally intended for fibulæ, or some other ornament of the person, as is proved by the large number of such rings found under tumuli in Ireland. Such rings have been found both in England and Ireland of various sizes, both in gold and silver, from the size of a finger ring to that of a bracelet or collar. Ancient authors have also referred to iron money, as well as to leather money, clay money, and to shells used as money.

It follows, therefore, from what precedes, that Comius had abundant reason for coming into these parts, and would naturally seek to influence the tribe with which he was connected by name, if not by a nearer tie; and it is more than probable that, after his reverses and subjection in Gaul, he took refuge among his old acquaintances and countrymen, and effected a renewal of the old alliance with the Atrebatæ and other tribes, if that alliance had been severed, and then, as has been suggested, founded the extended kingdom in this country to which his sons succeeded.

We are asked by Hearne to infer that the two coins mentioned by Camden afford no evidence in this direction, because they were, he states, probably found in Gaul, and not in Britain; and he adds, "Camden does not state the spot where they were found." It will, however, be seen by reference that Camden distinctly states that these coins were discovered "about Wallingford." This is somewhat vague cer-

tainly, but it is sufficiently distinct to rebut the assumption that they were found in Gaul, and not in Britain; and as to the significance of the inscription, the inference to be deduced therefrom finds no favour in the opinion of this learned historian.

Another ground of objection is the fact that no express mention of Wallingford is made in the "Commentaries," which Hearne considers would not have been the case had it been a royal seat. But is there not a singular absence of the mention by Cæsar of any town? He describes a town as having an embankment and ditch and difficult of access, and this description does not differ from what Wallingford may reasonably be supposed to have been, from its river on the east, and the natural streams high above it on the west, nearly surrounding the town, and having a supply sufficient to form a water defence of great extent and power.

Then it is urged, "Cæsar does not say that Comius was King of the Atrebatii *here*, but only of those of Gaul." As I read the "Commentaries," Cæsar mentions Comius as "the Atrebatian," without expressly connecting him with either Gaul or Britain. May we not, therefore, consider this general appellation, repeated as it is several times, as implying sovereignty or chieftainship over both states?

4th. *King Alfred and the Translation of Orosius.* The strong ground presented by the passage assumed to be from Orosius's "History of the World," as given by King Alfred, in support of Kennett's opinion, is rejected by Hearne for three reasons:—1st. Because it does not appear to be of the age of King Alfred. 2nd. Because there might have been some "accidental slipping in" of the passage in question; and 3rd. Because "it is plainly a mistake, since it is against what Cæsar himself asserts;" and he goes further, and holds the observation to be of no force unless expressly confirmed by Cæsar himself.

Now, as to this last point, to reject all observations and conclusions which have not the express authority of Cæsar's own words, would leave us with very imperfect information on many important matters in relation to the Roman general and his partial conquest of Britain. And to have every incident made clear by a witness who cannot be said to be free from bias, and who had probably weighty reasons for

presenting the case to his countrymen in the way most likely to disarm opposition and secure favour, would be by a process involving an intellectual effort of no ordinary character, and in which the opinion of those who have questioned the perfect reliability of Cæsar's narrative must be entirely ignored. As to the "slipping in" of the passage by accident, nothing is said to lead us to infer on what grounds the probability of such an unusual and unlikely occurrence is intimated.

The other ground amounts to a strong suggestion that the passage is a forgery; and Daines Barrington seems to support this view by saying that he "does not find the least traces of the passage in Orosius," although he admits that the king certainly supposed that the third battle between Cæsar and the Britons happened near Wallingford.

It is necessary, in order to lead to a right understanding of so important a link of evidence, and to test the value of the reasoning of these great authorities, that we should dive into the past, and trace the sources from which King Alfred derived his information.

Orosius was a Spaniard by birth, and a great and learned author of the fifth century. His "Compendious History of the World" ranges from the Creation to the year A.D. 416; and its reputation was so great that King Alfred determined to translate the substance of the history from the original Latin into Anglo-Saxon, for the instruction of his people. It is not contended that Alfred's work was a literal translation of Orosius: the king's especial aim was to present to his subjects the historical knowledge of his day in as perfect and reliable a form as was practicable; and to secure this end, he not only studied the best books and manuscripts, but, we are told, he engaged Asser and several of the most learned men to read and converse with him in turn. Among these were Werefrith, Bishop of Worcester, the translator of Gregory's "Dialogues" into Anglo-Saxon; Grimbild and Johannes; Plegmund, the Mercian archbishop, and his chaplains, Æthelstan and Werewulf. Night and day, it is said, whenever he had leisure, he had these men to read to him, and thus, by intense study and constant intercourse with the leading literary authorities, he gained that knowledge which enabled him to correct, add to, and explain, not only Orosius,

but the works of others; and this was done to such an extent that the king was said to be the original author of many of the most instructive additions made to the former work. Dr. Bosworth, who studied an original manuscript of the king's Anglo-Saxon translation, states, "It is the clear style of Alfred, and the additional information that he imparts, in a supplementary sentence or clause, which interests us, as given from his own personal knowledge; such, for instance, as when, speaking of the Romans fording the Thames, Alfred points out the exact place by stating that it was at Wallingford." The same author adds, "It was the prevailing desire of Alfred to benefit his people. He was more anxious to improve their minds by what he wrote than to exalt himself. Instead, therefore, of laying before them only his own compositions, he did not hesitate to select and translate the best and most popular works of his day. In translating he exercised his own powerful mind, and freely used his sound judgment, not only in omitting what he deemed of little importance, but in giving his own opinions and experience, and adding his own remarks and observations."*

In the first book especially Alfred introduced much new matter relating to the geography of Europe, and filled up a chasm between the time of Orosius, which was the commencement of the fifth century, and his own—the end of the ninth century—thus proving that he had recourse to original sources other than Orosius for information.

The work, therefore, of King Alfred is not a mere translation of the latter author into Anglo-Saxon. We may rather regard it as a corrected edition, so enlarged in some parts and condensed in others, and so generally improved, as to be made more useful for his people.

Dr. Bosworth informs us that there are only two old manuscripts of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version of Orosius—the Lauderdale and the Cotton. The former is supposed to have been written about the end of the ninth century, and the Cotton in the tenth century. The Lauderdale manuscript receives its name from its former possessor, the Duke of Lauderdale, and is that from which Dr. Bosworth has

* "A Literal English Translation of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon Version of the 'Compendious History of the World' by Orosius," by the Rev. Joseph Bosworth, D.D.

obtained his information, it having been placed in his hands from the library at Helmingham Hall in the year 1854. The Cotton manuscript, which is deposited in the British Museum, appears to be so closely connected with the Lauderdale as to lead to the conclusion that one was a copy of the other. In addition to these two manuscripts, there are four transcripts of King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version; namely, Transcript of the Cotton manuscript, by Junius, about 1658; of Junius, by Elstob, in 1698; by Ballard, in 1751; by Hampson, in 1841. Of the royal version three separate editions have been published in this country: one by Daines Barrington, from the transcript by Elstob,* as he admits in a note. This was accompanied by an English translation, on which, according to Thorpe and the author in the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*," eighth edit., very little reliance can be placed, "as it is full of inaccuracies."

The passage in King Alfred's version respecting Wallingford runs as follows:—

"After that he (Cæsar) had conquered them (the Galli), he went to the island Bryttanie, and fought with the Brits, and was put to flight in the land that is called Kentland. Soon afterwards he fought with the Brits again in Kentland, and they were put to flight. Their third fight was nigh the river that is called Tamese, nigh the ford † which is called Wellingaford. After that fight there submitted to him the King and burghmen that were in Cyrncestre, and afterwards all that were in the island."

No material difference occurs in any of the translations, but in that by Bosworth the last clause is rendered thus: "After that battle the king came into his hands, and the townspeople that were in Cirencester, and afterwards all that were in the island."

Daines Barrington construes thus the last clause, and appends the following note:—

"Their third battle was near the river that men call Tamese (near those fords which are called Welingaford);

* This transcript, which is now in the possession of the Society of Antiquaries, belonged to Mr. (afterwards Sir William) Ellis, who remarks, "When I bought it at Mr. Gough's sale it was unbound and dirty, having been passed through the printer's hands by Daines Barrington."

† The term "shallows" is the more correct interpretation according to some authorities.

after which not only all the inhabitants of *Cyrnceastre* * submitted, but the whole island."

From what precedes, it is not unreasonable to conclude that the king, in referring to *Cæsar's* fording the river, grasped in his mind the main events that led to the conquest of the island, and, perhaps for brevity's sake, compressed in a few lines the prominent features, without being sufficiently minute as respects the detail. Thus we may suppose he designated the first ineffective attack on the island by *Julius Cæsar* as a defeat in *Kentland*, the second descent by him as a success in *Kentland*, and the complete subjugation, as "their third fight," near the ford at *Wallingford*, when "all that were in the island submitted." The want of precision in these words creates the difficulty in harmonizing the language with the facts, because, although the different chiefs had submitted to *Julius Cæsar*, yet we know that what may be called the complete subjugation of Britain did not take place till nearly a century afterwards, under another general.

This appears to be the view of *Dr. Guest*, whose opinion is quoted more fully in a subsequent chapter. He considers that *King Alfred* confounded the events of *Cæsar's* invasion with those of *Aulus Plautius*, and so led the former along a route which was really traversed at a much later period. But the main point is undisputed and incontrovertible, whether the translation be literally correct or not, which is, that we have an author of undoubted credit—one who was remarkable for his historical knowledge, his deep research and learning, and who is characterized by our historians as perhaps the wisest, best, and greatest king that ever reigned in England; who asserts, with great distinctness, that *Wallingford* was the place where the Roman soldiers crossed the *Thames*; and we are quite at liberty to suppose that the passage across the river was made either in the time of *Julius Cæsar* or of *Plautius*. And if the question of the better authority arose—but it does not—between *Orosius* and his translator, we should probably consider the latter more reliable than the former.

* "I should suppose that this should be *Dorchester* rather than *Cirencester*, as the former is so near to *Wallingford*. It is from this passage that *Bishop Kennett* hath insisted that *Cæsar's* army forded the *Thames* at *Wallingford*, and not at *Coway stakes*."—"Parochial Antiquities."

Another point is not unworthy of consideration. King Alfred was able to speak of these parts from his own personal knowledge and acquaintance with local traditions. Wantage was his birthplace, and the Downs, in this immediate neighbourhood, his battle-field, and doubtless the scene of one of his greatest military achievements. Very lately all these historical associations with our county have received renewed life and interest through the munificence of one of our county members, Colonel Lloyd Lindsay, V.C., who has presented to his neighbouring town a statue of heroic size of the great Saxon king, sculptured in Sicilian marble. This splendid gift, which now adorns the Market-place, was unveiled, amidst much ceremonial, by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, on the 14th of July, 1877.

On the whole, it must be deduced that, although there may be room to doubt whether the *entire* passage in question is as old as Orosius, no doubt can exist that it is of the age and has the authority of King Alfred, and that the inference which is drawn by Hearne is not supported. Neither does the failure of Daines Barrington to trace any reference to Wallingford in the transcript of King Alfred's version by Elstob, from which he appears to have acquired his information about Orosius, possess much weight.

But even if circumstances obliged us to regard the story of the battle near Wallingford as a mere tradition, which we know would be of little value unless supported by facts, the case is still strong in favour of Wallingford, because it has been conclusively shown that this is no monkish fable devoid of probability; that it springs from the great Alfred himself, who has recorded the Roman connection with Wallingford in language too decided and express to admit of doubt, or to be considered as the mere echo of a Berkshire tradition.

4th. *Shallows.* The term "shallows" employed by the royal translator, may well be applied at the present day, notwithstanding the locks and weirs, to this part of the river, which in low water has been fordable as long as can be remembered, almost marking the exact spot of the traditional "Cæsar's Ford."

5th. *Beech trees.* Reliance is placed by Hearne upon the passage in the "Commentaries" that Cæsar had not heard of any beech in Britain, and the inference is drawn that this

would not have been the case if he had visited Wallingford, which he erroneously considers is situated in a beech-growing country. The beech district is on the chalk formation of the Chiltern Hills, away from Wallingford on the east of the Thames, and not in the alluvial and, to this description of tree, uncongenial soil of the valley; and it by no means follows that because this country abounds in beech trees at the present day, they were equally abundant eighteen hundred years ago. There are good reasons for saying that the tree was not then indigenous here, but was an introduction by the Romans at a later period. This is the opinion, among others, of Whitaker,* who, in confirmation, refers to the fact that all the terms by which the beech was known, were evidently Roman—*faighe*, *faghe*, or *faydh*. Besides, we have the positive testimony of Cæsar himself, who tells us in his "Commentaries" that the beech was unknown in Britain at the period in question.

Barrington, assuming that Cæsar must have crossed the river much further eastward, prescribes a route for him over the Chiltern Hills, through what is now the beech-growing district of Nettlebed, on the east of the Thames, which, from a point on the river between Maidenhead and Henley, would be in about a straight line for Wallingford. And this is precisely the route which Cæsar may be supposed to have taken, if he visited these parts, as it is not unlikely he did; because, always assuming that it must have been his object and desire to penetrate into the upper valley of the Thames, a ready and inviting means of access presented itself by traversing the ancient earthwork known as Grimsdike—described hereafter—and which takes a direction in about the course pointed out as the probable line of Roman road, at a later period, between Cirencester and London. Whether we regard this ridge and trench formation as a tribal boundary or as a British trackway, it opened up, without doubt, a communication westward, through a hilly country, densely wooded and probably trackless and almost impenetrable except by this route. Can it be said that the Roman general, if he crossed, as Barrington says, lower down the river somewhere about Maidenhead, would not have availed himself of this easy and direct communication with the Upper Thames in the neighbourhood of

* "History of Manchester."

Wallingford, which, presenting a sort of string to the bow, would reduce the distance, as compared with the circuitous way along the river, by no less than twenty-one miles?

6th. *Distance test.* The so-called distance test is another argument employed by Barrington for excluding Wallingford. This will be dealt with hereafter; but he himself supplies an answer, by referring to the known inaccuracies in the numerals, the rejection of such a distance test by nearly all antiquaries, and the doubt he admits to have existed whether the Roman *passus* is to be computed at one or two steps.

Dr. Owen supports the argument against Kennett's conclusions, by endeavouring to account for the time Cæsar had at his disposal, which he considers was too limited to enable him to reach Wallingford; but, by fixing the 18th of August as the date of Cæsar's landing, it is evident, as before stated, he refers to the first expedition, when, so far as we know, it has never been suggested by Kennett or any one else that Wallingford was reached.

7th. *Thamesis.* It is rather startling, after the arguments *pro* and *con* have been directed to a question of site on the banks of the Thames, to be suddenly transferred to another river, and told that the Thamesis of Cæsar means the Medway, and not the Thames. But this appears to be the opinion of both Barrington and Owen, and the former, moreover, tells us that the inhabitants of Berkshire were too far inland to be of consequence as allies, and that the settlement of the Atrebates was probably not Berkshire, but the county of Kent; and, he remarks, "there are no fords which infantry can pass where Cæsar's army hath hitherto been supposed to have crossed."

Much of this is distinctly negatived by Cæsar's own narrative, and King Alfred, as we have seen, in referring to the river "called Tamese" connects it with the "ford which is called Wellingaford"—of course meaning Wallingford in the Atrebatian district, where the river Thames runs. As to there being no fords, we may go back a thousand years at least, and we find several places on the river ending with the word "ford," which is presumptive evidence of the existence of a ford. In this immediate neighbourhood there are four, namely, Queenford, Shillingford, Wallingford, and Moulford; and as each of these places is situated on the banks of the Thames, we need not puzzle ourselves with the question sug-

gested by Barrington, whether the British signification of the word "ford" was not a road, in the sense we now understand that term. Then we have the strong evidence that the Atrebatian district, which comprised the Berkshire people, was bounded by our river Thames; and the connection of Comius with these parts has, we think, been shown. All these facts furnish an answer, which appears to be conclusive, against the unsupported opinions of these two historians.

As to the impossibility of Cæsar having "heard anything about the interior parts of the country," Barrington points out to us, in a subsequent passage, how easily intelligence was obtained from the deserters and people of the country who came to him; and it is clear from the "Commentaries," bk. v. ch. 12 and 13, that Cæsar was in possession of sufficient information relative to these parts and the interior of the island to be able to give a description with considerable minuteness.

The argument based on the direction of the river fails if the "*maritimæ civitates*" extended beyond the limited area assigned to them; and that they did so extend, the chapter above quoted proves, for Cæsar himself describes the maritime portion as containing many states, called by different Gaulish names, and having a population which he calls "countless." Besides, the territories of Cassivellaunus were not so limited as these authors would have us suppose. They were greatly enlarged on the approach of Cæsar, when the Britons, laying aside their former feuds, made Cassivellaunus the chief of their several states, and gave him the entire command and management of the war.

That Cæsar could not have been referring to the river Thames as we know it, because he omits in his "Commentaries" to expatiate "on its beauties, tide, or other circumstances," certainly cannot be regarded as an argument of much weight in favour of some other river. May it not be said, if the argument is worth anything one way or the other, that the absence of any reference to the tide shows that Cæsar's exploits took place in the upper part of the stream, far away from the tidal influence, possibly in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, where there could have been nothing so remarkably striking in the appearance of the river as to awaken the wonder of the great general?

Barrington adds, "Nor does he (Cæsar) seem to have heard of such a city as London, a place of great trade in his time." And here again, does not this circumstance favour the notion that Cæsar had little or nothing to do with that lower part of the river on the banks of which London is situated?

The passage in Dion Cassius,* describing the march of Plautius following the Britons to the "mouth of the Thames," proves to demonstration," he says, "that the Romans understood by the Thames a different river from that which hath now obtained that name." But are we seriously to be asked to pervert the obvious meaning of the word "Thamesis," used by Cæsar himself in describing his operations, which undoubtedly took place in the neighbourhood of our river Thames, because a Roman historian, whose history is "sadly mutilated" and fragmentary, and who had no local knowledge, is not accurate in describing an event that took place nearly one hundred years after Cæsar had left our shores?

In considering the embarrassing question of the ford of the river, the discovery of the Roman relics which are described in a subsequent chapter, holds a place in the chain of evidence. It will suffice to mention here that a two-edged sword, which answers exactly to the description of the two-edged swords used by Cæsar's soldiers, was dug up from the bed of the river a few years ago, near the spot known as "Cæsar's Ford," and not far from the same spot have been found spear-heads, celts, and other Roman relics. With respect to the celts, although various uses have been assigned to them, it must be borne in mind that they formed, as we are told by Whitaker, Lubbock, and other antiquaries, a principal part of the offensive arms of the Romans, having been used as battle-axes, chisels, and for other warlike purposes.

A list of the Roman coins that have been found in and around the town is also given hereafter. They may be numbered by thousands, and date from the time when the coinage of Rome assumed a definite character, namely, from the reign of Augustus, who was born in the year 63 B.C., and they extend down to the time the Romans quitted the island.

Thus the passage in Gale's "Commentary on Antoninus," to the effect that there are no remains of Roman antiquity in

* See *post*, p. 67.

Wallingford, pointing especially to the supposed absence of coins, is entirely opposed to the fact; and the ground upon which he, Hearne, and Elias Ashmole * have endeavoured to exclude Wallingford from the Roman period is cut away. Gale was misled on a fundamental point, and, naturally enough, misled others who too confidently followed in his wake. The reviewer of Kennett maintained Gale's opinion, because the arguments of the latter "are strong and well grounded;" but there existed in Gale's time numismatic evidence which of itself was sufficient to prove the fallacy of the argument. It seems, however, to have been overlooked. Had the facts been known, as they are now, probably the learned antiquaries whom I have named would have added the weight of their authority in support of the opinion of the great Camden, Kennett, and others.

8th. "*The capital town*" of *Cassivellaunus*. The ambassadors, when they tendered their submission to Cæsar, some time after the victory on the banks of the Thames, informed him that the town of Cassivellaunus was "not far off." But here, again, the name is not given, and, like the passage of the river, various places have been mentioned by different historians, without any known fact to warrant the location. Stukeley says, "The usual residence of Cassibelin was at Edgware; his oppidum, or military town, which Cæsar stormed, was at Watford." By several other authors it is supposed to have stood on the spot afterwards occupied by the Roman city of Verulamium, near St. Albans; but Wright is far from being singular in his opinion in attaching no probability to this theory, and passes it over as vague and useless. Verulamium appears to have been founded by the British princes who, after Cæsar's invasion, were in alliance with Rome, and to have afterwards acquired great celebrity and magnificence. Hence, perhaps, may be traced the supposed identity of the site with the town of Cassivellaunus, whose original territory is said to have been the county (Hertford) in which St. Albans is situated. But at the time to which we are referring, namely, that of the submission to Cæsar, this county formed but a very small portion of the territories of the British chief, which comprised not only the neighbouring tribes under his subjection, but those which afterwards joined in a league

* "*Antiquities of Berks*" (1728).

against the invaders, and selected him as their leader. It is probable, therefore, that in a tract of country so extensive there would have been several "capital towns;" or, if the words are to be construed as signifying a stronghold, it is not reasonable to suppose that a chief or prince of such acknowledged military genius as Cassivellaunus would have left the defence and protection of his large dominion to fortified works in one place only, and that at a spot "far off" from the Upper Thames. The theories, therefore, that have been advanced as to the situation of the town must be considered as mere conjecture, and as in no way leading to an inference that the operations of the Roman general were, at this time, far away from the valley of the river.

9th. *Did Cæsar extend his march to Wallingford?* We may ask, What is there in the narrative of Cæsar's movements to rebut the presumption that, after he had crossed the river at some point other than Wallingford, and subdued Cassivellaunus, he did not extend his march to that place? The distance could not have been great, and the sharp stakes and deep water described by Cæsar would certainly not have encouraged the passage back at the same spot, in the face of these difficulties. Even if we are asked to assume that he crossed the river a second time in order to avoid some of its windings, the practicability of such a movement, without much difficulty, has been shown. It is natural to suppose that Cæsar was desirous to make himself acquainted with the country, and the valley of the Thames offered an easy and inviting channel for pursuing an investigation with that object. The conquest of the southern part of the island had been virtually made before the attack on the British town; and little difference of opinion exists that Cæsar had received the submission of a tract of country extending from sea to sea, embracing the counties of Berks and Hants and the south-eastern district of Britain; thus no serious opposition was to be apprehended to the onward march. He tells us his soldiers proceeded onwards after the passage of the river, meeting with feeble resistance from the enemy, who "watched the march, and retired out of their way." Horsley states, "I see no reason to doubt that Cæsar continued to bend his course still the same way, moving to the west, and advancing further into the country." General Roy, in his "Military

Antiquities of the Romans," appears to think he may have penetrated the country to "the summit of the Chiltern Hills," while the Emperor's own account leads to the belief that his marches extended over a considerable length of country; and the fact that the charioteers of Cassivellaunus, who had clearly not crossed the river with their chariots, were carrying on all this time a sort of guerilla warfare with the Roman troops, clearing the whole country of provisions, and retiring into the woods for safety, is a proof that Cæsar was not retreating on the other side of the river, or returning to his fleet in that direction. At length the British general himself submitted, the last remnant of opposition was removed, and a further inducement given for penetrating deeper into the country. This, we may suppose, he did, and thus acquired the more perfect knowledge of its general features by personal observation, which we know by his writings, penned after his return to his own country, he then possessed. Another inducement might have been to get into the district of Comius, whose connection, in some character or other, with the Berkshire tribe at that time cannot be fairly doubted; and from him possibly Cæsar might have heard of the town now called Wallingford as possessing strong natural means of defence and some notoriety.

Then there is the probability, already mentioned, that Cassivellaunus, the generalissimo of the Britons, may have had a chief town hereabouts, as well as elsewhere. This circumstance also, if that were the case, is not unlikely to have had some weight in influencing a march into the Atrebatian district. The period from April to mid-September, and not from August as stated by Dr. Owen, was amply sufficient for an extension of his march even from "Coway stakes," some thirty miles; and we are nowhere told that the Roman general's movements, after his successes in his second expedition, were so hurried and indecisive that he was confined to the vicinity of his camp. On the contrary, if reliance is to be placed on Cæsar's own account, his military success was unbroken, and much of his time must have been unfettered. But whether this island fell an easy prey to the Romans or not, we may safely conclude that no embarrassing obstacles in the way of an extended march were presented, either for want of time or opportunity; and

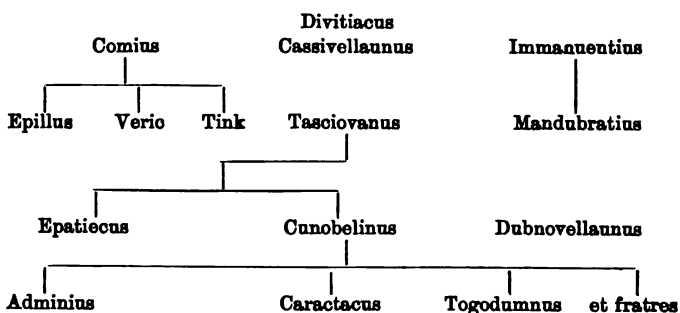
that river exploration must have been an undoubted object to be achieved.

It may be difficult to accept the suggestion of Kennett, that the river-bank at Wallingford was the scene of the battle between Cæsar and Cassivellaunus, but on other points the reasoning advanced by his reviewers does not appear to be of sufficient weight to rebut the general conclusions at which he has arrived. We have on one side opinions deliberately expressed by "as great an authority as ever lived," to borrow the language of Barrington, opinions deduced from the careful study of ancient and authentic historians, and which have received the support of modern writers of considerable eminence; on the other side, we have learned and able reviewers, but their arguments appear to be unsupported by classical authority, and scarcely to need the feeble test we have applied to them in endeavouring to show the measure of their value. If the issue is to rest between the bishop and his reviewers, probably the tradition of Cæsar having crossed the Thames at Wallingford, which has been an article of faith from generation to generation, may have an undisturbed inheritance for ages yet to come.

CHAPTER III.

ROMAN PERIOD—*continued.*

No military occupation of the island followed the retreat of Julius Cæsar, and for ninety-seven years—from that event to the invasion of Claudius—the Britons are said to have met with no disturbance from the Romans; and Horsley considers there were no Roman stations here during that period. Guest gives us, in a pedigree form, the names of the families which are supposed to have exercised lordship in the Thames valley during the century and upwards preceding the invasion.



When Cæsar made his descent on the island, the Cattavellauni were working their way to a supremacy in South Britain. The invasion checked their progress, and the encroaching chief became the head of a confederacy* for mutual defence; but the alliance was of short duration. The latter was compelled to acknowledge, as King of the Trinobantes, Mandubratius, whom he had dethroned, and whose father, Immanuentius, he had slain. But, says Guest, "before half

* Page 33 *ante*.

a century had passed, we find the tide of conquest was flowing in its old channel, and we find the Cattavellauni driving the successor of Mandubratius from Essex, and the descendants of Comius from the southern bank of the Thames. Everything seemed to intimate that they were about to found a great monarchy in Britain, when the Roman eagles again made their appearance, and the petty fortunes of an obscure British tribe yielded before a mightier destiny."

One Bericus, we are told, induced Claudius to undertake the enterprise, and it has been conjectured that this Bericus was the Veric or Beric, son of Comius, whose name appears on the coins that have been described in a former chapter.

Aulus Plantius was the general selected to conduct the expedition, and a great force, estimated, with their auxiliaries and cavalry, at not less than 50,000 men, was brought together in Gaul to invade the island. The expedition sailed A.D. 43—friendly relations between Britain and the Continent appear to have ceased the year before—but a mutiny of the soldiers delayed the expedition. Plantius had under him Vespasian, his brother Flavius Sabinus, and a veteran officer named Cneius Osidius Geta. He sailed, according to Guest and others, from Boulogne, and having divided his force into three bodies, directed the course of his fleet to the three little ports—Hythe, Dover, and Richborough. He met with no opposition on landing, and no combined plan of resistance seems to have been formed by the Britons, who retired to the woods and marshes, and Plantius had to penetrate far into the country before he could bring his opponents to battle. At length we trace him into the valley of the Thames, but whether he had overrun the south of England as far as Oxfordshire and Gloucester—the country of the Dobuni, who were at this time under the dominion of the Cattavellauni (the hereditary tribe of Cassivellaunus, and probably of Cunobeline)—or whether his approach to these counties was made from the west, is a question not easily solved.

The generally admitted obscurity in which the past movements of Aulus Plantius are involved is not removed by the confused account of Dion Cassius, upon whom we are chiefly dependent for a knowledge of those movements.

The following is Dion's account:—

"Plantius had much trouble in searching for them (the

enemy), but when at last he found them, they were not independent, but subject to different kings. He defeated first Karatakos and afterwards Togodoumnos, the sons of Kunobellinos, who himself was dead. When they took to flight he won over by agreement a certain portion of the Bodouni, whom they that are called the Katouellanoi had under their dominion ; and from thence, having left a garrison behind them, they advanced further. When they had come to a certain river which the barbarians did not think the Romans could pass without a bridge, and on that account were encamped on the opposite bank somewhat carelessly, he sends forward the Keltai, whose custom it is to swim, with their arms, even over the most rapid rivers ; and then, having thus fallen on their opponents unexpectedly, though they hit none of the men, and only wounded the horses that drew the chariots, yet, as these were thus thrown into confusion, the riders could no longer be sure of their safety. He sent over also Flavius Vespasianus, the same who afterwards obtained the supreme power, and his brother Sabinus, who served under him as lieutenant, and so they also, having somewhere passed the river, slew many of the barbarians who were not expecting them. The rest, however, did not fly, but on the following day, having again come to an engagement, they contended on almost equal terms, till Cneius Osidius Geta, after running the risk of being captured, so thoroughly defeated them that he obtained triumphal honours, though he had never been consul. The Britons having withdrawn themselves thence to the river Thames, where it empties itself into the ocean, and at flow of tide forms a lake, and having easily passed it, as being well acquainted with such parts as were firm and easy of passage, the Romans followed them, but on this occasion failed in their object. The Keltai, however, having again swum over, and certain others having passed over by a bridge a little higher up, engaged them on several sides at once, and cut off many of them ; but following the rest heedlessly, they fell into difficult marshes and lost many of their men. On this account, therefore, and because the Britons did not give in, even though Togodoumnos had perished, but the rather conspired together to revenge him, Plantius became alarmed, and advanced no further. But his present acquisitions he made secure with a guard, and sent

for Claudius; for so it was ordered him, if any particular difficulties arose; and great provision had been made for the expedition of other things, as well as of elephants. When the news arrived, Claudius, . . . crossing over into Britain, joined the army that was awaiting him on the Thames, and, having taken the command, passed over it, and coming to blows with the barbarians, who were concentrated to oppose his advance, he conquered them in a battle, and took Kamoulodounon, the royal residence of Kunobellinos. Afterwards he brought many over, some by agreement, others by force, etc.; and, taking from them their arms, he placed them under Plantius, and ordered him to bring the remainder under subjection. He himself hurried to Rome, having first sent news of his victory by the hands of his sons-in-law, Magnus and Silanus."

No mention is made by Dion of the point of landing, the route the general took, nor the position he occupied till he reached the Thames. Historians have, therefore, generally assumed that he followed Cæsar's footsteps, and landed on the Kentish coast. Mr. Reade, however, in his interesting paper, brings him here by a route from the west; and, like Dr. Guest, Smollett,* and others, fixes on or near Wallingford as the site whereon the famous battle was fought.

On the foregoing brief narrative, explained from other sources, Guest grounds his opinion that the great battle of the campaign was fought at Wallingford. Describing a route over the Marlborough Downs, he considers the Romans advanced towards the rich country round Cirencester, there made a new base of operations, and marched in search of his enemy down the valley of the Thames, probably along the Icknield Way. "This branch trackway would lead him to Wallingford, and here, I believe," adds Guest, "was fought the battle of the campaign.

"After losing the district inhabited by the Atrebates and the Dobuni, the British princes would naturally do their utmost to save from invasion the land which gave rise to their family, and which must have constituted the main element of their power. The country of the Cattavellauni lay, as it were, astride on the woodlands which stretch north of the Thames within the Chiltern. Its three principal

* Smollett's "History," vol. i. p. 46; "Horse Britannicæ," vol. i. p. 94.

thoroughfares were those known in the later times as the Watling Street, the Akeman Street, and the Icknield Way. The latter came from Suffolk, ran along the hills of the Chiltern across the other two trackways, coasting the vales of Buckingham and Aylesbury, and were no doubt the richest portions of the district. It seems to have crossed the river at [near] Wallingford, and to have run into the Vale of the White Horse, for a road in that neighbourhood is expressly called the Icenhilde Wæg in a charter of the tenth century. For more than one thousand years the ford at Wallingford was recognized as the chief passage on the river. . . . At this passage, barring access to the rich country in the rear, the Britons took their stand. The fords in front of them were probably fortified, for it is said when Shillingford bridge was built, beams and piles were taken from the bed of the river. With guards to watch these fords, the Britons might not unreasonably consider themselves secure. The daring act of the auxiliaries in swimming the river must first have shown Caractacus (for he no doubt was the British commander) how much he had miscalculated. In the confusion that followed, Vespasian seems to have forced his way over the ford at Wallingford. Here a passage had no doubt been left to accommodate the traffic that passed along the Icknield Way, though the fords at Shillingford and Moulsoford may have been rendered altogether impassable. The Romans made good their passage of the Thames, but the Britons did not fly, and how desperate was the next day's engagement appears from the account which Dion has handed down to us. The Britons withdrew their shattered forces along the same route that was followed by William a thousand years afterwards. They were too disheartened to make an attempt to save Verulam, but continued their retreat till they had crossed the Lea and placed the Essex marshes between them and their pursuers."

Archbishop Baldwin, in his "Itinerary," written A.D. 1188, considers that the great battle was fought nearer Dorchester than Wallingford. He places the British camp near that place (Dorocina) on the western banks of the river Thames, and that of the Romans on Sinodun Hill, from whence they could plainly see the disposition of the enemy beneath them on the other side of the river. Having reduced Cirencester,

the capital of the Dobuni, the progress of Plantius towards Verulam was interrupted by the Britons posting themselves on the banks of the river. "Observing," says our author, "that the enemy lay in careless security from the idea that the river was impassable to the Romans, Plantius ordered the Germans, who were accustomed to swimming, to pass the river above the camp, while Vespasian crossed with another part of the army below it nearer to Wallingford, and, falling upon them while they were opposing the Germans, totally routed them. The Britons retreated first to their fortresses on the Chiltern Hills, where they were again beaten by Geta, near Nettlebed,* in Oxfordshire."

In the translation of the "Itinerary" by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., a map of the campaigns of Plantius and Claudius is given, and a descriptive account of the progress the general made, which shows that the battle took place nearer to Wallingford than Dorchester, in the opinion of that author.

Carte, in his "General History of England," is another authority for taking Aulus Plantius to Wallingford. After referring to the dissensions that existed in Britain between the Belgic colonists and the original Britons, the vindictive temper of Cassivellaunus, the abuse of his power in the slaughter of Imanuentius and the oppression of the Trinobantes, as the true causes of this island falling, as he terms it, an easy prey to the Romans, he remarks that "Plantius, landing in a country thus divided within itself, could hardly meet with an enemy, everybody having retired to their fastnesses in hills and marshes. Thus unmolested, he passed through Kent, advancing by the route which Julius Cæsar had taken formerly, till he came to the Thames (Dion, l., lx.), and then coasting along the river without coming to any action till he had marched as far as Wallingford, and passed the Thames into Oxfordshire." Here it is suggested that Plantius met with the enemy he had taken so much pains to find, and came to a battle, first with Caractacus, and then with Togodumnus, and being victorious in both engagements, he received the submission of part of the Dobuni that were in vassalage to the Cattavellanni. This success, and the terror of his numerous forces, brought every day to

* Near this place are still the remains of a Roman camp.

his camp the submission of some or other of the states of the Belgic Britons seated in the neighbourhood, such as the Trinovantes, Cantii, Regni, and Atrebatas.

Carte considers it likely that Beric (Bericus), who is generally allowed to be the chief promoter of the invasion, and had been deprived by the Cattavellauni of his estate and position as chieftain among the Dobuni, instigated the first attempt against his former tribe to serve his own ends; and he refers to the fact that there still exists in these parts a village that bears the name of Berrick. This village is situated in Oxfordshire, within two miles of Wallingford.

In an interesting paper, "From the Era of Augustus to that of Claudius Cæsar," by Edward Anderdon Reade, Esq., C.B., with which he has favoured me, the first movements of Plautius and his army are fully discussed, but we have unfortunately only room to note general conclusions, and give a few extracts.

Mr. Reade considers the assumption that Plantius, on landing in Britain, necessarily followed the footsteps of his great predecessor, has no warrant. He refers to the connection from the first between Plantius and the Dobuni, and the extraordinary favour shown and continued by the Romans to this tribe, whose tenure of Gloucestershire, and advance in the adjacent parts of Oxfordshire and along the line of the Isis, has never, he states, been disputed. Much cogent argument is adduced in order to show that Plautius made Gloucestershire his base of a line of operations through Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, to reach his inland main position in Hertfordshire, and that his fleet reached this base, either by sailing up the Severn to the country of the Dobuni, or by landing on the Devonshire coast in one of the ports of the friendly Dumnonii, instead of being left on the coast of a traditionary enemy.

Following the line of rivers, the Isis and its tributaries, Mr. Reade takes us to the great Roman encampment at Idbury, on a stream that runs into the Evenlode, as affording some evidence of the Roman advance, near which, or perhaps at the Cherwell, Caractacus made his stand and was defeated. "The advance continued until his brother Togodumnus encountered it with his division. The whereabouts of this second fight is uncertain," says our author, "but from the

sequel it was evidently near the Isis, which Togodumnus passed over after having been worsted, but not apparently pursued. Here another Roman victory under C. Osidius Geta took place, and the Dobuni of the neighbourhood declared openly for the Romans. Plantius followed the Britons down to a point where they had recrossed the river and taken up a position beset with marshes and pools left by its overflow. He marched up by a bridge higher up the river, and, falling unexpectedly on the Britons, routed them, with the loss of their brave chief Togodumnus. Plantius recrossed the Thames, and marched down to its junction with the sea, where it seems to have been preconcerted that Claudius was to join him.

"So far internal evidence, later testimony, and reasonable probability accredit Dion's description, but when he carries us on at one jump to the sea coast and the marshes near it, winding up with physical impossibilities and utter confusion, his guidance is no longer reliable geographically, though as to certain facts, and circumstances connected with them indicative of fact—the death of Togodumnus the Cattuellanian leader, and the Roman manœuvre by which that was effected, with its results to victors and vanquished—his account may be accepted."

After stating fatal objections to the theories of those who have assigned the locality of this memorable battle to the upper part of Essex or to Henley, Mr. Reade proceeds: "Where, then, was the battle fought? The clue to the solution of the difficulty is found in the relative position of the Dobuni subjects of the Cattuellani somewhere in Oxfordshire, and the Cattuellani, themselves of Buckinghamshire and beyond, as sufficiently established by C. Osidius Geta's victory; in the secession of the Dobuni to the Romans, and the garrison provided by Plantius in or close to their territory; and in the surely not unreasonable inference that as there seems to have been little interval of time, there could not have been any great interval of distance between the battle fought on the Isis, and the next one (as the course of the history, however misrepresented, suggests) fought by the Thames. From various but contemporaneous particulars, there is good reason to suppose that the whole extent of this military operation lay between

Dorchester and Mongewell on one side, between Wittenham and Cholsey on the other side of the Thames, and that the main contest took place opposite Wallingford, in the marshy tracts of Crowmarsh Preston, or Gifford, and Newnham, as such they must have been at this period.

"Naturally here would be the point at which the Cattuelani recrossed the Thames after their defeat on the right bank of its upper stream, the Isis. As Plantius was, during that contest, in force on the left bank, no doubt, as a precaution against Caractacus and his force turning up on that side, they must needs have gone down some distance before they ventured. Mention has been made of the probable loss of their boats as a consequence of Osidius Geta's victory; but here was a ford available, supposed safety, and facility of retreat to their strongholds in Buckinghamshire and beyond.

"Here, too, the position was difficult of assault by an enemy unacquainted with the ground; it had a network of swamps and a river not easily passable in front, on which side, after their previous experience, they doubtless reckoned the attack, if any, would be made. But the higher ground on the Berkshire side was well suited to the Roman general's manoeuvre of a feint to distract their attention, while he secretly crossed his main body higher up over the river. The bridge which Dion mentions was doubtless one of boats and rafts. Cæsar mentions his soldiers being acquainted with the device; and the Dobuni, now allied with the Romans, and rejoicing in the expulsion of their enemy, were just the people to aid in collecting the materials and concealing the operation.

"Again, the garrison provided for the protection of the Dobuni contributes an important item of evidence. Plantius would necessarily have selected the best position available in or near the liberated territory, and suitable to the detachment in charge, as such would be isolated in the course of his campaign, and all the circumstances of his previous and subsequent operations combine to demonstrate that he made choice of Sinodun Hill at Wittenham for the purpose. Its commanding position, with a *tête du pont* below it, could not have escaped his practised observation; and its extensive camp works, still retaining their original features, and the strategic uses made of it subsequently, all unite to enforce the conviction. Certainly the whole line of the Isis to its

source may be traversed without finding a position within reasonable distance of it which presents these features, and so fully meets the requirements of the case as the one above mentioned. What supposition, then, can be more reasonable as to the locality of Togodumnus's defeat and death than that he and his force, aware, from their position in and about Crowmarsh, that the Romans were busily employed in fortifying a hill on the further side of the Thames—for this would have been visible to the naked eye—confident in the assurance, from the peculiarities of the situation they occupied, that they were safe within their own territory; and very possibly reckoning that the Romans would next turn their arms against the Atrebatii, in whose territory they were encamped,—became lulled into security, unconscious the while that the Roman strategist was secretly preparing the means of transporting the troops which were to take them in flank, while their attention was engaged in front, and destroy them. To complete the picture, we only need Vespasian, his brother Sabinus (who deserved a better fate than to be afterwards knocked on the head in a street riot), and C. Osidius Geta, thundering down on the unhappy Britons somewhere about Benson Lane; the prudent Plautius, by no means satisfied with the paludinous aspect of the battle-ground, hasting to sound the trumpet of recall; and in the distance a group of shivering Ancalites, watching from the top of Grimes Dyke the discomfiture of their old enemies.

“The site of a battle, involving the death of a great British leader and serious loss to the victors, would naturally be preserved some way or another in the traditions of later ages. In the present case, local names, imposed or substituted centuries after the event, contribute a measure of corroboration, if not to the occurrence, certainly to the natural features of the accompanying description. Saxon names have often the same meaning as their Celtic or Latin predecessors. The Saxon *Crau-mares*, for *Crau-merse* and Crowmarsh, as the name has been spelt at different times; and *Niweha*, for Newnham, an adjoining parish, have a certain significance. In the one instance *Mares* is unquestionably the antecedent of ‘marsh,’ but *crau* can hardly be the corruption of ‘craw,’ Saxon for the crow or rook—marsh lands not being suited to the habits of these birds; but take it as

an easy abbreviation of *Craun*, Saxon for dead or defeated (the word has both meanings, and survives in the English word 'craven'), *Craun-mares*, whether or no it savours of Saxon antipathy to Celt and Roman alike, suits the situation. In the other, *Niweha*, newly inhabited place, was appropriate to a locality which, originally a swamp, in course of ages has acquired sufficient consistence for human habitations.

"There is yet another evidence to identify this site of Plautius's famous victory, in the local tradition, prevalent long before the Norman Conquest, of Julius Cæsar having crossed the Thames from Wallingford, and defeated the Cattuellani in a great battle on this very spot, for which reason William the Norman, following his footsteps, granted the site of this memorable battle-ground as an endowment of the Abbey de la Bataile (Battle Abbey) he had resolved to found in remembrance of his victory at Hastings; which endowment for centuries bore the name of Crowmarsh Battle, afterwards from the ecclesiastical connection, Crowmarsh Prieston, the Preston Crowmarsh of the present day, though the first-named terminal is still occasionally used."

We have little to add to the foregoing account. Whether the landing of the Roman expedition took place on the east or west coast, or on the south coast, which has also been suggested, must be a matter of conjecture, for Dion supplies no details. The probabilities, however, appear to be in favour of the Gloucestershire route sketched out by Mr. Reade. The ancient western Ermyrn Street opened up a direct communication with the base of operations, and would take the Romans into the territory where we first find them according to Dion's account, namely, that of the Dobuni, whom we may almost regard as allies of the Romans from the first. The landing in Kent is an assumption only, based upon the precedent supposed to be afforded by the movements of Julius Cæsar, nearly a hundred years before. It must have been well known to the Romans that any attempt to land in the territory of the powerful tribe of the Cantii would doubtless have brought down upon them a formidable and perhaps successful resistance, not only by the Cantii, but also by the equally powerful and neighbouring tribe of the Belgæ, and therefore the Kentish shore was not likely to be preferred. We are not justified in supposing that these

tribes, who afterwards showed such determined bravery in defending themselves against the aggression of the Romans in the country of the Dobuni, would have given up the great advantages of attack and defence which their coast position secured to them, retired out of the way of the enemy, and allowed an invasion of their territory unmolested. Moreover, the route from the Kentish coast by the Watling Street (for we must assume the user of this national highway) would be winding and devious, through a long tract of hostile country, in which the progress of the Romans would be obstructed, and every impediment placed in the way of a concentration of troops in the district of the Dobuni.

The same consideration applies to a landing at Southampton, although not to the same extent, owing to the shortened distance and the probability that there existed a direct route across the country to the Dobuni. Southampton has been named on the authority of Matthew of Westminster, who states that the Emperor Claudius landed at Porchester with his army; and if so, the direct route referred to would doubtless have been selected. The passage in King Alfred's "Orosius," that the battle of Wallingford preceded the capture of Cirencester, does not militate against the theory of Mr. Reade, because it is probable that the surrender of Cirencester was consequent on the success of the Romans at Wallingford, and not the result of conquest on their advance to the Thames.

The main problem we have to solve, and which presents the great difficulty in interpreting Dion's account, is the question of the situation of the ford and bridge. On most other points the fragment of narrative seems intelligible enough. First there is the defeat of Caractacus, and afterwards of Togodumnus, the sons of the deceased Cunobeline, and the winning over of a portion of the territory of the Dobuni. Here, then, in Gloucestershire or Oxfordshire we trace the first engagement, and the defeat of the two brothers. Then the Romans, having "left a garrison behind," advanced further to a certain river, which is not named, and surprised and defeated the Britons on the opposite bank. The next day another desperate engagement took place, with a like result, and the Britons withdrew to the river Thames, where, the narrative adds, "it empties itself into the ocean," etc.

Here the perplexity arises. The language used implies that the first-named river was not the Thames, but that it was in the country of the Dobuni and near that river seems pretty clear. If we are to construe Dion literally, we cannot escape from the conclusion that, after the third engagement, a sudden withdrawal of both armies took place; that a distance was traversed with war chariots, horses, and men, which could not have been less than eighty miles, through a country for the most part densely wooded, and not having any track-way, excepting through a part of it, to aid their progress; that here, by the seaside, a battle-field was reached, and a passage across the wide expanse of water being necessary for warfare operations, was "easily effected" by the Britons at a point "firm and easy of passage," but not by the Romans, some of whom passed by a bridge "a little higher up," while the German contingent swam across. Many of the men were lost, "Plantius became alarmed and advanced no further," but made "his present acquisitions secure," and sent for Claudius. So we leave him encamped somewhere about Gravesend, while, at the same time, he is said to be making secure his newly acquired possessions in the distant country of the Dobuni.

Much of this is so utterly incoherent that it cannot be read literally. Leave out the reference to the ocean, and confine the operations to the district particularly mentioned, and an intelligible theory presents itself in accord with the opinions which have been quoted.

The only suggestion we would make is—taking the well-known ford at Wallingford as that by which the Britons in their retreat crossed the Thames—that the bridge "a little higher up" may have been at Shillingford, at which spot beams and piles of great age were discovered in the bed of the river on the rebuilding of the present structure.

It is open to suggestion also whether the lake-like appearance of the river may not have arisen from a great extent of marsh land, which, after heavy autumnal rains, must have presented a large area of flooded country, and may have given rise, not unnaturally, to the notion that the sea was near. Even at the present day, those who live on the banks of the Thames, and have witnessed the effect of the floods which are frequently occurring, particularly such as those of the

years 1875-6, will not be disposed to consider the word "sea" as at all inapplicable to the vast expanse of water that covers the valley almost as far as the eye can reach.

A calm review of all the incidents mentioned in the preceding pages cannot fail to create a strong impression, if not a conviction, that the battle referred to by King Alfred was, in fact, the famous battle of the Plautian campaign, and that it took place at or near Wallingford, which time out of mind has extended into Oxfordshire, on the eastern side of the river, and adjoins the village of Crowmarsh.

The conquest, however, by Aulus Plautius and Claudius did not include the south-western * district of the island, extending from Hampshire to the extremity of Cornwall; and it was left for Vespasian to subdue the two powerful tribes, namely, the Belgæ and the Dumnonii, who held these parts. This he effected after, as we are told,† having fought nearly thirty battles, and captured twenty British towns or fortified posts. Still, it seems, hostility to the Roman rule again showed itself on the part of the Silures, which required the military talent, first of Ostorius Scapula, and afterwards of the imperial general Caius Suetonius Paulinus, to subdue. At length the provinces were conquered, and the Empire was placed under the tyrannous rule of Nero. But another outbreak was approaching, and soon nearly the whole country was in possession of the insurgents, with Boadicea, the queen of the deceased chief of the Iceni, Prasutagus, at their head. This tribe had been provoked by the brutality of the Romans towards the members of the royal family, and rose to arms, joined by the Trinobantes of Essex. Soon an innumerable multitude followed the standard of the queen, but with misplaced confidence, for the Roman commander, with ten thousand regular troops, utterly routed them, with terrible slaughter. No one was spared, not even women, on that fatal day. It is said eighty thousand Britons were slain; and Boadicea, mourning over the destruction of her country, put an end to her own life by taking poison. Notwithstanding this crushing defeat, the insurrection was only checked.

* Horsley remarks, "All that's certain is this, that the Romans marched up, and conquered both sides of the Thames, and that Camulodunum was the furthest north they appear to have gone at this time."

† Wright, p. 44.

After a time, the Brigantes and other tribes rose in a general revolt, and it was not till the year 79 that the Roman power was established throughout the greater part of the land, under Julius Agricola, who the year before had assumed the government of the island. Within six years afterwards, Scotland and the northern tribes were overcome, and the Romans, under Agricola, were masters of the whole island. It is recorded of this distinguished general that he reformed the government, improved the condition of his people, and encouraged and assisted them to build houses, temples, courts, and market-places. Horsley considers that most of our military ways were laid down by him.

This brings us to the subject of the "Itineraries," which will be considered in the next chapter.

There were, however, before these military ways were constructed, the four old national roads, or trackways, called Watling Street, the Icknield (Ikeneld, or Icketon) Way, the Fosse Way, and Ermyrn Street, which are supposed by most authorities to have been the ancient travelling roads of the Britons, but by others to have been the work of the Romans. These main roads extended from sea to sea, as is manifest from the undoubted evidence we possess in the traces of them still existing. They seem to have had branches, bearing the same or similar names, which are also traceable in various parts of Britain. According to the old chroniclers, King Dunwallo (called also Molmucius or Mulmutius) "began these four highways of Britain, the which were finished and perfected by Belinus his son;" and Robert of Gloucester makes express reference to them, as having been constructed by "old Kynge Belin." Some of those who would limit their antiquity, urge the impossibility of a continuous line of communication through a country occupied by hostile tribes, frequently at war one with the other; but, on the other hand, there are distinguishing marks between these ancient ways and the Roman roads, which unequivocally carry us back to the British period. The former, unlike the Roman military ways, were in general neither raised, nor paved, nor straight, but for the most part they wound along the tops or sides of the chain of hills which lay in their course. They did not, as a rule, connect Roman towns and military stations, nor do the names they bear partake of a Roman origin. Besides, we

know, in the time of common danger, all tribal hostility became merged in the more grave consideration of general safety; and, as in the cases of Cassivellaunus and Caractacus, a confederacy was formed, under which the several petty chieftains became subordinate to some illustrious general, who took the command of the country. But Camden, who is the chief authority for considering these roads to be Roman, is more precise. Holding that the civilization of the Britons began from the Roman conquest, he connects the formation of them with a period subsequent to that event, and relies on a quotation from Tacitus, that when Agricola was lieutenant here, the people were commanded to carry their corn into the most distant countries; and he quotes from old records, "In the days of Honorius and Arcadius there were made in Britain certain highways from sea to sea." But this passage does not prove that the highways referred to were those we have mentioned; and it is almost impossible to imagine that a people accustomed to military movements, with heavy war chariots on wheels, were without roads, especially as such means of transit would have been almost a necessity when pilgrimages were made to distant places, as was their habit at certain seasons of solemnity. An unknown author in "Old England" refers to the great Druidical monuments, such as Stonehenge and Abury, as indicating that they were not solely constructed with reference to the habits of a stationary population, but that they were centres to which great bodies of people resorted on particular occasions. Assuming, therefore, that the origin of these roads belongs to the ancient Britons, there can be but little doubt that all of them were more or less remodelled by the Romans, and used, as occasion required, to concentrate troops at certain points and for other purposes. One of these roads, the Icknield Way, almost skirts this town, and I have, therefore, in a subsequent page (125) described its course, because the conviction is forced upon us that it must have been the great highway by which intercourse with these parts was opened through a country the greater part of which was rendered very difficult of access by forests and morasses, that have been described as almost impenetrable.

This neighbouring way, distinctly called British by several authorities, affords strong corroboration of what has been

advanced. It does not pass through a single town or village in the county of Oxford, except Goring, if it ever reached that place, which is very doubtful. All along its course the same general absence of ancient towns and villages has been noticed. But few Roman remains have been found, while in its vicinity, particularly on the Berkshire downs, are many objects of British antiquity. These circumstances, coupled with what has been before stated and the construction of the road, lead to the conclusion that these roads were British trackways at the time of the conquest of this country by the Romans.

CHAPTER IV.

ROMAN PERIOD—*continued*.

It has been before observed that, as the Roman conquest progressed, stations were established and military roads constructed, and although this work appears to have been greatly advanced by Agricola, it is not an unreasonable assumption that Wallingford may have had its military station, and consequently its military way, before Agricola came over to this country, possibly very soon after the subjugation of this part of it under Aulus Plautius. That Wallingford by its ancient name existed as a place of note at that period cannot be very well doubted; indeed, there are those who hold that the place was the settlement of some very ancient Celtic tribe, whose stations, we know, were generally by the side of a river.

But we must pass on to the consideration of the arguments of Horsley, in connection with Wallingford and the "Itinéraires," in order to determine whether they are of sufficient weight to sever Roman Calleva from Wallingford, and connect the name with Silchester, and thus overturn the conclusions at which Camden and so many of our learned historians and geographers have arrived.

Simpson, in his "History of Lancaster,"* thus describes Roman roads:—"The Romans constructed three kinds of ways, or roads. The first kind, during conquest, was the 'via militaris,' properly so called, or the elevated highway from military station to station. The second kind was the 'via publica,' a public road made subsequently for intercourse from one place to another, and to facilitate the arts of peace and communication with the Roman capital. The third kind were the private roads, or 'viæ privatæ,' called also 'viæ vicinales,' because, according to Ulpian, 'ad agros et vicos

* Page 92.

ducunt.' The military roads were elevated three feet and upwards above the surface of the ground. They were paved on their summits throughout their whole length. Their direction was generally in perfectly straight lines from one point of ground to another, and were called 'viæ strætæ,' whence we derive our word 'street.'"

Horsley grounds his opinion in opposition to Wallingford, for the most part, on the "Itinerary" of Antoninus. Five routes are therein described, in three of which Calleva only, and in two Calleva Atrebatum, are mentioned as stations, and in four of them as a terminus. It must, therefore, have been a place of considerable importance, and, as its name in two of the Iters implies, the capital of the Atrebatii, just as "Venta Belgarum" and "Venta Icenorum" help us to determine two of the chief towns of the Belgæ and Iceni.

These five routes are comprised in the following Itineraries, numbered VII., XII., XIII., XIV., and XV. :—

ITER VII. A REGNO AD LONDINIUM MIL. PASS. XCVI.

Ancient names of Roman stations in "Itinerary" of Antoninus.	Mil. Pass.	Modern sites, according to Horsley.	Statute Miles in direct line.	Modern sites, according to Camden, with addition.	Statute Miles direct.	Modern sites, according to Gale. ††	Statute Miles direct.
Regnum to		Chichester* to		Ringwood † to		Ringwood to	
Claesentum . .	XX.	Old Southampton	27	Southampton .	17	Southampton	17
Venta Belgarum	X.	Winchester . .	11	Winchester . .	11	Winchester .	11
[Vindomis] (a)				To Silchester 22			
				Wallingford 16			
				— 38			
Calleva Atrebatum	XXII.	Silchester † . .	22	Wallingford ¶¶ .	38	Henley-on-Thames	37.
Pontibus, or Ad Pontes	XXII.	Old Windsor ‡ .	24	Colnbrook ** .	27	Colnbrook . .	16
Londinium . .	XXIII.	London . . .	20	London (Cumberland Gate)	15	London . .	15
Add (a) Vindomis, omitted as per Iters XII. and XV., post . .	XCVI.						
	XV.						
	CXI.		104		108		96

* Horsley, Reynolds, Wright.

† Sir R. C. Hoare, Roach Smith.

‡ Ward, Kempe. § Gale, Burton, Baxter, Stukeley, Beale Poste, Dr. Milner.

¶ Nennius, Camden, Stukeley, Beche, Beale Poste.

¶¶ Leland, Burton, Speed, Baxter, Kennett, Milner, Reynolds.

** Camden, by Gough, Gale, Burton, Baxter, Stukeley.

†† "Antonini Iters Britanniarum," by Thomas Gale. 1709.

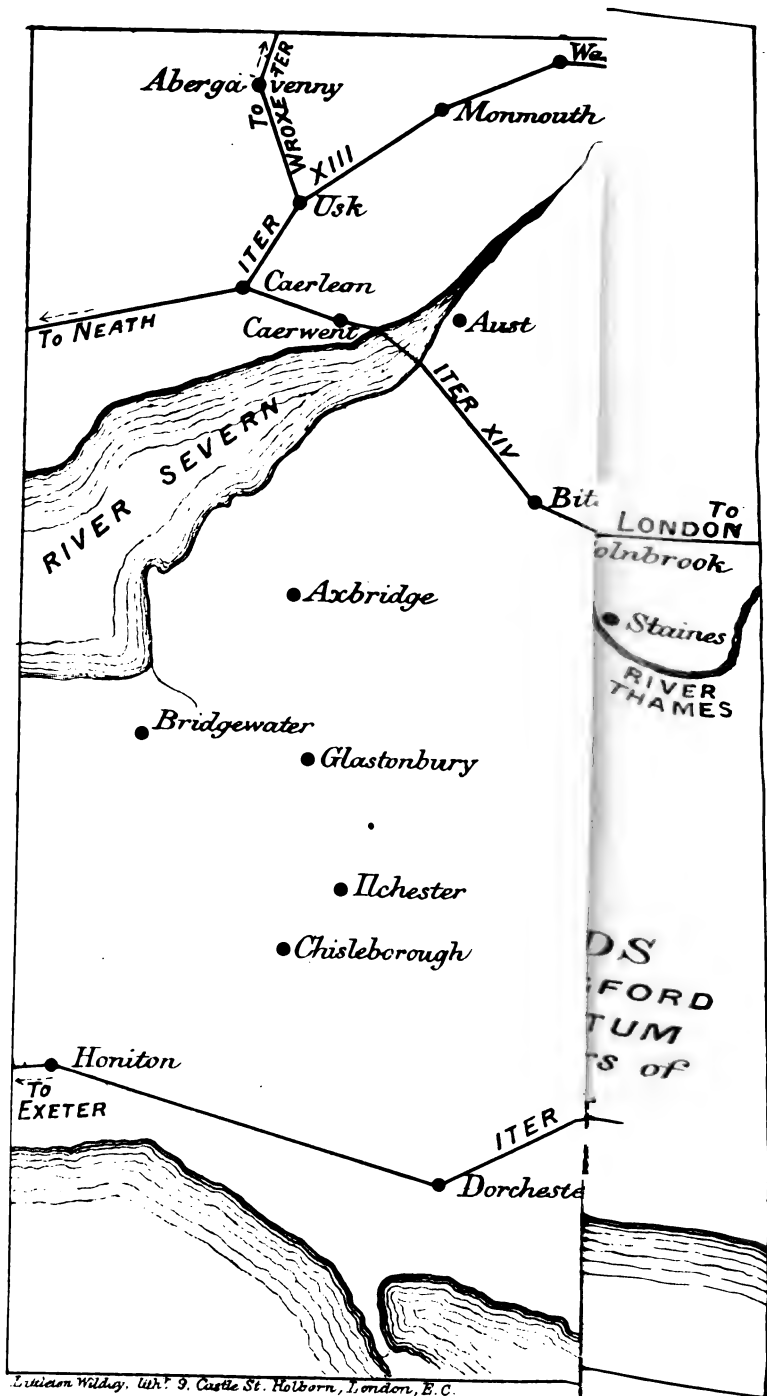
Of the six towns which this itinerary contains, four of them appear to have been principal towns of as many different tribes; but there are only two, namely, London and Winchester, the situations of which have the general assent of all antiquaries, and there is one point with respect to Calleva which also meets with pretty general assent, and that is, that the capital of the *Atrebatii* was situated on the banks of the river Thames, or, as some few have it, in its immediate vicinity, but quite distinguished from the tribe of the *Segontiaci*, whose territories did not approach that river, but were near the Kennet.

The first station in the itinerary is *Regnum*, "the town of the *Regni*," which Horsley places at Chichester; but Camden, Gale, Burton, Baxter, Stukeley, and others consider it to be the original name of Ringwood in the east division of the New Forest, in the county of Hants; afterwards this place bore the names of *Rinovid* and *Regnewood*, denoting by a Saxon termination "the wood of the *Regni*." In Domesday Book it is written "*Rincawed*." Ptolemy, however, does not mention any town of this name, and calls the capital of the *Regni* *Neomagus*. Ringwood has a navigable river, the Avon, which, leaving the town, receives the Stour coming from Dorset, and, dividing itself into three branches, afterwards collects its waters into a broad expanse, and forms a communication with the English Channel at Christchurch,* not much inferior to that of Chichester. A range of hills, and their peculiar formation near the village of Shurley give to Ringwood natural advantages, as a defensive position, in a military point of view, which do not appear to be possessed, to the same extent, by its rival claimant Chichester, while coins and Roman relics which have been found there, and the trace of a Roman camp, connect the town with Roman occupation. According to Dr. Plot,† "*Roman ways lye directly from Regnum now Ringwood, and Clausentum now Southampton, Venta Belgarum now Winchester, and so to Caleva now Wallingford, and thence, by Elsfield, to Alchester,*" as is more particularly described in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth chapters of his work.

* "Below this [conflux of the rivers near Christchurch] the Stour and Avon fall into the sea in one united mouth, which Ptolemy rightly calls the mouth of river *Alaunus*."—Gough's Camden.

† Page 333.

Ringwood is distant from Winchester, in a direct line, twenty-eight English miles, as against the thirty M. P. in the "Itineraries," and in this respect answers the test of distance better than the Sussex town, which would increase the distance to thirty-eight miles. Still, there are several authorities, and among them Wright, who follow Horsley, and make Chichester the terminus. Doubtless, the latter was a town of eminence soon after the Romans settled here. It is recorded that Flavius Vespasian—about the year 47—made it his head-quarters, and threw up an entrenchment three miles in extent, some traces of which still appear. Last century a mutilated sculptured stone was found there, which was supposed to show the dedication of a temple to Neptune and Minerva. All this would lead to the supposition that Chichester was one of the earliest stations, and one of the first to be approached by a military road, but it does not afford sufficient proof of a connection with the *Regnum* of the *Iters* to exclude opposing theories; while the distance and other circumstances favour the situation of Ringwood. The heading mentions *Regnum* and London as the termini. As to the latter place, Tacitus tells us it was famous for trade and navigation, and that its riches and its people were increasing in the reign of Nero, though not then honoured with the name of a colony. Perhaps the first advances that were made in this direction are due to his immediate predecessor, Claudius, as the conqueror of these parts. Now, if *Regnum* be rightly placed at Chichester, what must strike most of us is that between two places of such celebrity there should be such a very indirect communication, twice as long, by the route marked out, as it need have been. This circuitous road, commencing at Chichester, first takes a direction almost due west to Southampton, and then abruptly turning to the north to Winchester (two of the chief towns of the Belgæ), it extends itself to Calleva (the chief town of the *Atrebatii*), and from this it turns eastward to London (the chief town of the *Cantii*), making a circuit in direct mileage of one hundred and seven miles, whereas the distance between Chichester and London is fifty-five statute miles only. Circuitousness, except between station and station, was no unusual occurrence, as a reference to the plan, p. 87, will show; but there is no other *Iter* so suggestive of improbability on this ground as the line in



London, W. 1. 9. Castle St. Holborn, London, E. C.

Horsley's map from London to Chichester. Now, no such argument can be advanced against taking, as I think we must, Ringwood to be the *Regnum* of Antoninus. The line to London is pretty direct, in about the same distance, and the mileage to Southampton is in agreement with the *Iter*, being seventeen miles to answer the twenty M. P., whereas from Chichester the distance is ten miles further.

"From Winchester," Horsley remarks, "Caleva is our next station at twenty-two miles distant from *Venta Belgarum*, and I see twenty-two of the same shorter miles by the scale brings us exactly to Silchester, which I believe to be the *Caleva* both here and in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth itineraries." The *Pontibus* in the "Itinerary" he locates at old Windsor, because the distance between that place and London corresponds with the "Itinerary," "with the greatest exactness," although, when speaking of the whole distance, he observes, "it is little enough for our number in the 'Itinerary.'"

Our author appears to place great reliance on the figures in the "Itinerary," and it is quite conceivable that, in the endeavour to attain "the greatest exactness," he may have been unduly influenced by accepting too readily their general correctness, without taking into account other circumstances, which have an equally important bearing. It is obvious that the system of Roman routes which he has elaborated in his "*Britannia Romana*," so far as this southern district is concerned, is based almost entirely upon the distances mentioned in the "Itinerary." Certain "corrections" are made now and then, but more for the purpose of making the distances square than with any other object. It may be that the learned author lacked local knowledge of these parts. His great work is dated from Morpeth, in Northumberland, where he is supposed to have lived, and he may not, therefore, have possessed that acquaintance with our neighbourhood which would have led him to treat the subject geographically with a due regard to the evidence of Roman occupation, or to consider the comparative advantages of Wallingford and Silchester as military stations, or the probability of an accidental omission of an intervening station, as seems clearly to have been the case.

The distance in M. P. from *Caleva* to *Venta Belgarum*

stands at twenty-two, which is about sixteen miles less than the actual distance from Wallingford to Winchester, consequently Wallingford is at once rejected as a situation utterly irreconcilable with the *Iter*, although it can hardly be doubted, on referring to the twelfth and fifteenth *Iters*, that a stage intervened between *Calleva* and *Venta Belgarum*, namely, *Vindomis*, which has been omitted, and, by inserting this intermediate station which many, if not most, authorities place at Silchester, we get an actual mileage, which, if not in agreement with these two *Iters*, shows no great variance, the figures therein being thirty-six M. P. against the thirty-eight statute miles between Wallingford, through Silchester, to Winchester. Twice *Vindomis* occurs in the "*Itineraries*" of Antoninus as an intermediate stage, the numerals being the same in all the routes. Horsley, in order to make the numerals and the distances approximately agree, is driven to the expedient of carrying *Vindomis* (which he admits has been the current Roman name of Silchester ever since Camden first stamped it with his authority) to Farnham, sixteen miles from Silchester on the south-east, and twenty-five from Winchester, and of retaining the more direct route from Silchester to Winchester as well; and thus, in his map, he gives us, in the form of a triangle, a road of no less than forty-one miles long, to get to and from a place of which very little appears to have been known till the time of Ethelbald, King of the West Saxons, A.D. 857, and which Horsley himself speaks of as a "side station," and "as mentioned as it were by-the-by." A camp which is assumed to be Roman is certainly spoken of as not far distant, and authority is not wanting for asserting that a road, assumed also to be Roman, has been traced from Winchester, by Alresford and Alton, to Farnham; and thus, as respects the south-eastern section of the triangle, some confirmation of Horsley's views is afforded, but in other respects the triangle theory meets with no substantial corroboration, and we may fairly conclude that, even if we are to be governed by the uncorrected figures in the "*Itineraries*," Wallingford may be said to have two of the sides in its favour, while Silchester has only one.

It has been observed that, as the sum of the miles in the seventh *Itinerary* agrees exactly with the particulars as given, we are not at liberty to alter any of the numbers; but altera-

tions of this kind have constantly been made by different writers, including Horsley; and it is no argument against the probability of an omission or mistake because the fifteen figures, as they stand in the six lines, have been correctly cast up.

Moreover, we are not to conclude that the total given in the foregoing table is correct. In the Lyons edition of Antoninus the total stands at cxv., which better agrees with the several columns in the table, and it is easy to conceive a mistake by the simple transposition of the c after, instead of before, the x. This view receives support in the two Iters referred to, namely, the twelfth and fifteenth, wherein it seems so clear that Vindomis was the first stage from Calleva, in the way to Venta Belgarum, at a distance of xv M. P., that we are justified in offering the following correction in Iter VII., as it appears in Horsley's "Britannia":—

From Regnum to	M. P.	From Ringwood to	Statute Miles direct.
Clausentum	xx.	Southampton	17
Venta Belgarum	x.	Winchester	11
Vindomis (Iters XII., XV.)	xxii.	Silchester	22
Calleva, ditto	xv.	Wallingford	16
Pontibus	xxii.	Colnbrook	27
Londinium	xxii.	London (Cumberland Gate)	15
	cxv.		108

Thus the totals of the M. P. and the statute mileage agree as near as can be reasonably expected without altering the seventh route, except by supplying the one omission made manifest by the twelfth and fifteenth Iters.

Reynolds will not allow that the numbers in the "Itinerary" will admit of Clausentum being placed at Southampton, and he gives Bishop's Waltham, at a distance of twenty English miles from Chichester, to that station, and fixes Calleva at Reading, at a distance of thirty-two miles as against the xxii. M. P., adding ten miles to the total of particulars, which he thus makes 106 instead of 96.

The force of this argument in support of a particular theory, which is based on a supposed agreement with the numerals in the seventh Itinerary, is rather impaired by the

necessity of first altering those numerals to suit the particular theory. But there is another point that must not be overlooked in considering the claim of Reading. No trace of a Roman road, even by repute, is to be found near that town, nor have any Roman coins or relics been discovered there, so far as I am aware; and this circumstance alone seems fatal to the adoption of Reading as the ancient metropolis of the Atrebatii.

Next to Calleva in the Iter is Pontibus, or Pontes, which Camden and others place at Colnbrook; Burton, following Camden, and referring to Colnbrook as the true Pontes, and to Wallingford as Calleva, remarks, "The distance on both sides agrees, and the river Coln is parted at the former place into four channels, laid over with so many bridges." What more fitting name than Pontes could such a spot bear?

But a survey undertaken some fifty years ago by the officers studying in the senior department of the Military College at Sandhurst, points to Staines as the true Pontes. In the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxvii.,* a map of a Roman road between Staines and Silchester is mentioned as having been exhibited by Sir Henry Ellis, which is said to have been the result of this survey. In it the station Pontes is placed at Staines, whereby Mr. Alfred John Kempe, in his observations on the map, considers a material correction of Horsley has been effected, although he inclines to think Silchester is the Calleva Atrebatum, observing, "the distance between Pontes and Calleva, according to the 'Itinerary,' is twenty-two miles (Roman), by the survey the distance between Staines and Silchester is twenty-six in measured miles;" which he considers a sufficient conformity.

The survey in question does not enlighten us as to whether the road referred to between Staines and Silchester bore the traces of a military or a commercial road, or otherwise. It may have been the commercial road called the Portway, which extended from Norwich (*Venta Icenorum*) to Exeter, passing through London and Silchester. According to Camden, it proceeded westward from the latter place through Pamber, Lichfield, and close by the encampment at Kingsclere; after which it crossed the great entrenchment

* Page 412.

near Andover, considered by Stukeley to be the boundary of the Belgæ, and pursued its course in the direction of Old Sarum.

Unless the way traced by the Sandhurst officers can be identified as a military road, the survey does not materially advance the hypothesis of Horsley in localizing Calleva at Silchester, for throughout his work, and particularly in reference to this place, his arguments refer to *military* stations and garrisons and *military* ways. "These Itinera," he says, "contain an account of the several stations that were situated on the Roman *military* ways, and the several Itinera seem to be so many marching routes for the soldiers."

In corroboration of Camden that the road to which he refers is properly called the Portway, although Stukeley and Hutchings give it the name of the Icknield Street, it may be mentioned that, in the charter of Queen Elizabeth to the town of Andover, the designation given to it is, "the Portway between London and the Land's End."

Moreover, the discovery by the officers of existing traces of a Roman road is insufficient to fix the site of the old town, or to give Silchester a better claim than Wallingford, which had also its Roman ways, as will be shown hereafter.

Certainly, if Pontes means Staines, or old Windsor, and Calleva Silchester, and no omission is admitted, it would be difficult to combat Horsley's contention, because Wallingford, through Silchester, would be altogether out of the line. If taken in, by having the circuit extended northwards, the English mileage would be one hundred and twenty-two against the ninety-six Roman miles stated in the "Itinerary." Not that the want of directness is an argument of much weight, because, although the lines from station to station were generally straight, the distance, as we have seen, between the termini involved in many cases a circuit of prodigious extent. If, however, Pontes refers to Colnbrook, then it may be argued that the earlier route to London was through Wallingford, as Calleva, by way of Henley, or on the north of the river Thames, in the direction pointed out in a later page.

ITER XII. CALLEVA PER MURIDUNUM VIROCONIUM, M. P. CLXXXVI.

Antoninus.	M. P.	Horsley.	S. M.	Other readings.	S. M.
From Calleva to Vindomi	xv.	Silchester Farnham	16	Wallingford § Silchester § . . .	16
Venta Belgarum .	xxi.	Winchester . . .	25	Winchester † . .	22
Brige *	xi.	Broughton (12) .	15	Broughton (12) †	15
Sorbioduni . . .	ix.	Old Sarum (10) .	12	Old Sarum (10) †	12
Vindogladia . .	xii.	Near Cranborne .	14	Near Cranborne	14
Durnovaria . .	viii.	Dorchester . . .	26	Dorchester † . .	26
	LXXVI.		108		105
Muriduno	xxvi.	Near Eggerton .	9	Honiton ¶	32
Iscæ Dumnu- niorum	xv.	Chiselborough .	12	Exeter †	16
	CXXVII.		129		153
Leucaro. . . .	xv.	Near Glaston- bury	21	Llychar,** Lahor, Logher,†† South Wales	(See page 103.)
Bomio	xv.	Near Axbridge .	10	Evenny, South Wales	
Nido	xv.	Near Portbury .	13	Neath	
Iscæ leg. II. Au- gusta (Isca Silurum) †	xxvii.	Caerleon	14	Caerleon	
Barrio	ix.	Usk †	7	} The same . . .	
Gobannio	xii.	Abergavenny † .	10		
Magnis	xxii.	Kenchester † . .	17		
Bravinnio . . .	xxiv.	Ludlow †	27		
Viroconio (Uri- conium)	xxvii.	Wroxeter † . .	21		82
	CCLXXXIII.		269		
			S. M. direct		

This Iter is irreconcilable with the position of Calleva at Silchester, and Vindomis at Farnham, if the latter place is to be taken, as it clearly appears to be, as the first stage in the

* Distant from Venta Belgarum by Iter XV. M. P. viii.

† The numerals in this column agree with those in Gough's Camden, except at this station, where they are xv.

Authorities, among others—

‡ Camden, Wright. § Leland, Camden.

|| Wright and others place Vindogladia near Blandford, which is rather more direct.

¶ Camden, Gale, Stukeley, Burton.

** Wright.

†† Camden, Gale, Baxter.

route to Winchester; because Farnham would be entirely out of the way, whereas Vindomis, as Silchester, would come naturally in the road from Wallingford. First, Vindomis would be reached at sixteen miles, and then Winchester at twenty-two, which agrees as near with the Roman miles stated, namely, thirty-eight against the thirty-six, as in most and more so than in many other instances.

The advocates of Horsley's triangular route will perhaps tell us that Vindomis was an alternative stage, not necessarily in the way to Venta Belgarum, to which place the western side of the triangle presents a direct road. But are his adherents prepared to contend that it is at all likely that a station so unimportant, as Horsley himself describes Farnham to have been, would have had an independent military road of between forty and fifty miles in length? And can it be reasonably contended that the insertion of Vindomis as the first stage to Winchester in two Iters (the twelfth and fifteenth) was an error, or at any rate only lacks a note of explanation? But a reference to the figures in these "Itineraries" will go far to remove any doubt that may be entertained on the point, and will show that Vindomis was an intermediate station.

Then the distance between Farnham and Winchester is too far to answer the Roman miles in the twelfth and fifteenth Iters, whereas both facts and figures favour the location of Vindomis at Silchester, and Calleva at Wallingford. Reynolds, remarking on Vindomis, states, "Antiquaries are generally united in the opinion that Silchester is the remains of this Antonian town; Horsley is the only exception, who would remove it to Farnham, and place Calleva at this Vill. If numbers throughout are attended to, Vindomis could not be situated at this spot, so as to agree with any position which has been hitherto assigned to Calleva, or with the required distance from Venta Belgarum. Another objection lies against Silchester, which was probably not in being when the 'Itinerary' was written."

The fallacy of trusting to the unsupported figures in the "Itineraries" must be admitted, but as regards Vindomis this support is not wanting, and when the distances are taken in conjunction with all the circumstances which have been brought to bear on the question, we are led to suppose that

the triangular deviation is due more to the inventive genius of the learned author in surmounting a difficulty, than to any support it may receive either from Ptolemy, Antoninus, or any other source.

We must not consider Stukeley as a supporter of Horsley's opinion with respect to Farnham, because, in his first edition of the "*Itinerarium Curiosum*," published in 1724, he carried Calleva to that place. His opinion afterwards underwent a change, which was probably brought about in 1757, when he published his work on "*Richard of Cirencester*." Aided by the information he then obtained, he transferred Calleva to Wallingford; and for this, and possibly a little want of consistency with respect to other places and things, and a belief that he was unduly biassed, he has been denounced by T. D. Whitaker as a "bigoted antiquary," a "fantastical enthusiast in antiquities," one who "advanced mere whims, conjectures, many things improbable, and took much pains to palm them on the public, and establish them as truths." It is, therefore, but fair to note the doubt which Stukeley himself expressed when he placed Calleva at Farnham in his earlier work. He admitted that it was "a notion of his own, which must be enlarged upon before it can be accepted;" and in the preface he states, "I own it is a work crude and hasty, like the notes of a traveller that stays not long in a place, and such it was in reality. Many matters I threw in only as hints for further scrutiny and memorandums for myself or others, and if my sentiments of Roman stations and other matters happen not to coincide with what has been wrote before me, it was not that I differ from them, but things did not so appear to me."

Thus did Stukeley qualify his former opinion, and invite further investigation; and when, after mature inquiry and much local research, he applied a correcting hand with respect to this station, he observed in his second edition of the "*Itinerary*," "that what was before mere conjecture, he had been enabled to deal with as a fact." So far, therefore, as Calleva is concerned, it cannot be said that the learned doctor in any way deserved the unmeasured language that has been employed.

This twelfth Iter has been pregnant of controversy, and the ingenuity of our antiquaries has been well-nigh ex-

hausted in the endeavour to reconcile the stations with the measures in the "Itinerary;" and, after all, we must pronounce the latter part of it to be perfectly unintelligible, if we follow Horsley, and place the stations, Leucaró, Bomio, and Nido, which by almost general assent were located in Glamorgan-shire and the border of the county of Carmarthen, "near Glastonbury, near Axbridge, and near Portbury," in the county of Somerset. But let us note a few other of the perplexing points, to justify the suggestion hereafter made that the stations embracing the route to South Wales, and possibly Wroxeter, belong to another Iter. There is a difference of no less than one hundred and seven miles between the total prefixed to this twelfth Iter and the sum of the particulars, which is two hundred and ninety-three. It cannot be supposed that the branch roads accounted for this difference, because a glance at Horsley's map in the "*Britannia Romana*" will show that there is no road which can properly be called a branch, besides the one he assumes to and from Farnham. If we adopt Horsley's correction, so called, by adding one hundred to the prefixed total, there would still be a variance of seven. The difference of opinion that exists is notably the case with respect to *Muridunum* and *Isca Dumnoniorum*, or as it is frequently written, *Dumnoniorum*. The former, as *Moridunum* in most instances, is placed by Camden, Gale, Stukeley, Burton, and others at Seaton or Honiton, in Devonshire; and *Isca* by Camden, Burton, Wright, and indeed by the greater number of authorities, at Exeter, which is remarkable for the number of Roman antiquities that have been found there. Reynolds speaks doubtfully of Horsley's "corrections," and assigns new positions to three of the towns.

To account for the excess of the statute over the Roman mileage between *Sorbioduni* and *Durnovaria*, it has been suggested that intermediate stations, the names of which are not known, have been omitted, but inasmuch as Old Sarum and Dorchester, by almost general consent, represent the stations named, and the direct mileage between those places is forty statute against the twenty Roman miles, the insertion of any additional station would not diminish the existing variance.

The needless circuitousness of the route "from Calleva" to Caerleon is obvious. The latter place was connected with the

former by two other lines, much more direct, which are given in *Iters* XIII. and XIII., and if we take the line further westward to Exeter, where, as we have observed, nearly all the authorities place *Isca Dumnoniorum*, the circuitousness would be much greater. Doubtless there was a connection from the south with so important a station as *Caerleon* was, but authority points to that connection, though probably at a later period, by way of Exeter through *Bridgewater* (*Ad Uzellam*), or through *Ilchester* (*Ischalis*), *Wells* (*Ad Aquas*), and *Bath* (*Aquæ Solis*), and thence by the line from *Calleva*; and not through *Chiselborough* and *Glastonbury*, as representing the Antonine stations, which appear to be rightly carried to the other side of the *Severn*; and if so, the theory of *Horsley* cannot be upheld. Another shift resorted to, to make the "corrected" route consistent with the Roman mileage in the Antonine "*Itinerary*," is to transfer the numerals xxxvi. opposite *Muriduno* to *Durnovaria*, and those which stand opposite the latter place to the former, and to place *Bomio* before *Nido*, contrary to all the manuscripts. Dr. Gale, admitting the unintelligibility of the *Iter* as it stands, has stated that two *Iters* are here omitted or have been thrown into one; but the suggestion we have to offer is, that the stations *Leucaro*, *Bomio*, and *Nido*, and *Isca Silurum*, in *Iter* XII., were added to this *Iter* by mistake for the fourteenth. The great bulk of authority makes these stations represent the places in the third column in the table, thus constituting an extension to *Neath* and *Carmarthen*, which we may suppose was made after the construction of the original line to *Caerleon*. Hence the necessity for an alteration of the roll of the "*Itinerary*." Such alterations and additions, we know, were made from time to time, as more distant stations were opened. But for the heading to the *Iter*, it would seem that the extension to *Wroxeter* from *Usk* was made at the same time.

If we adopt the view here suggested, *Iter* XII. may be considered to have been the main route to the south of England, extensions in after times having been made onwards, to the extremity of Cornwall, with a branch to *Wroxeter*; but whether that branch was carried through *Ilchester* and *Wells*, and possibly *Bath*, from *Moridunum*, as described by *Wright*, or near *Glastonbury*, *Axbridge*, and *Portbury*, as pointed out by *Horsley*, is doubtful. Although *Ischalis* was one of the

three important towns in the district of the Belgæ (Venta and Aquæ Solis being the other two), neither that town nor Ad Aquas (Wells) is mentioned as a station in the Antonine "Itinerary," nor do the names appear in the Ravenna list, but still the existence of a branch line in the direction indicated cannot be ignored in the face of the heading to the twelfth Iter.

The question is, Are we to be taken northward by this line through Wells, or by that near Glastonbury and Axbridge? Let us give the figures, according to Horsley—

M. P. S. M.

From Calleva to Muriduno (as Eggerton), p. 93 112 117

As the distance between Durnovaria and Vindogladia in the twelfth Iter stands at VIII. M. P. only, the statute mileage being twenty-six, we may fairly make an addition to the Roman mileage.

From Muriduno to Caerleon, by Glastonbury, Axbridge and Portbury ... 87 70

If we take the line by Ilchester and Wells, it would be two miles further, and round by Bath fifteen more.

From Caerleon to Wroxeter ... 94 82

That the line to Wroxeter, through Abergavenny and Kenchester, took the direction pointed out, is shown by existing traces of a Roman road, particularly near Madley and Leintwardine on the Teme.

From Caerleon to Neath and Llychar—stations proposed to be transferred ... 42

Neath and Llychar, and onwards to Carmarthen, were probably reached by the Akeman Street, which, running from the east of the island to Alcester and Cirencester, is said to be continued by Cromehall to Aust, where, passing the Severn, it ran through Caerwent, Caerleon, and along the coast by Cardiff, Neath, Llychar (Leucaro), to Carmarthen, and to the Irish port at St. David's.

The twelfth Iter thus altered is certainly far more intelligible, and there is not that inconsistency between the Roman and statute mileage, so far as we are able to compare them, as is presented by the uncorrected Iter; but the circuitous route from Calleva to Caerleon gives a statute measure

exceeding by about one hundred miles the distance between those places according to the thirteenth and fourteenth Iters.

ITER XIII. AB ISCA CALLEVA, MILL. PASS. CIX.

From Caerleon to Silchester or Wallingford.

Antoninus.	M. P.	Horsley.	S. M.	Suggested correction	S. M.
Ab Isca		to		to	
Burrio . . .	IX.	Usk	7	}	54
Blestio . . .	XI.	Monmouth . .	11		
Ariconio . . .	XI.	Weston, near Ross	10		
Glevo	XV.	Gloucester . .	11		
Durocornovio, or Corinium	XIV.	Cirencester . .	15	Near the Slad Wallingford .	25 11
Spinis	XV.	Speenhamland	36		
Calleva	XV.	Silchester . .	11		
	XC.		101		90

There is, as will be observed, a difference of nineteen miles between the total of the particulars and that of the heading; and the distance between Speenhamland and Cirencester is marked xv. M. P. only, the actual distance in statute miles being thirty-six in a direct line. Various suggestions have been made to account for this discrepancy. According to Burton, the site of Burrio is Bristol, nineteen statute miles from Caerleon, and Chippenham is made to represent Blestio; but Camden, Gale, and Stukeley place the latter station at Old Town, in Herefordshire, and Ariconio is placed by many antiquaries at Kenchester, five miles from Hereford; but it appears to be out of the course of this itinerary, and more in the line from Abergavenny to Ludlow, as in the last. Horsley considers it to be the Magna of the Romans, where Roman remains have been found, and fragments of a temple, with a niche of Roman brickwork, and an altar dedicated to Marcus Aurelius. Stukeley imagines that the station Cunetio (which he fixes at Marlborough, and Gale at West Kennet), with the numerals 19, has been omitted, and that five should be added to the fifteen opposite Spinis; whereas Horsley converts the xv. opposite the latter station into thirty-five. This addition (for making which no grounds are assigned) of twenty-four, as suggested by Stukeley, or that of twenty by Horsley, certainly brings the figures into

better agreement. Instead, however, of adding a station and altering the figures, as Stukeley does, or adopting Horsley's addition, a more feasible solution of the difficulty is presented by placing Spinis in what appears to be its true position, at or near the Slad, which is contiguous to West Ilsley, and adjoins the Roman way called Old Street, and where there are strong grounds for the belief that a Roman town existed. The Slad is now a large tract of low arable land on the north and east sides of the village of West Ilsley, which derives its name from the Saxon *slæd*, signifying a valley between two hills. Here have been found Roman coins, Roman antiquities, and oyster shells in immense numbers, together with fragments of antique pottery, bricks, and tiles, which support the popular tradition that an extensive town once occupied the spot. Here also may be seen, overspreading the downs, barrows, dykes, and entrenchments, which, if not of Roman origin, must have been utilized by that people; and here too are traceable the ancient roads which traverse the downs close to the Slad, and are particularly described in a subsequent page. Can it be reasonably supposed that there was no Roman station at this spot?

But let us see what evidence there is to show that Spinis has been misplaced at Speen (Speenhamland). First, there is the inaccuracy in the numerals, then the fact of the non-existence of any trace of a Roman road. Dr. Beeke and others observe, "No traces have been discovered of a regularly drawn road from Silchester to Newbury (Spinæ)." Another author says, "There is not even a flint in the wayside to lead to a supposition that the road was ever there." "The course of the Roman road from Spinæ to London has never yet been ascertained," says the Bishop of Cloyne, in "Lysons." "The course of a Roman road," says Sir Richard Colt Hoare, "between the station of Cunetio to that of Spinis still remains unknown."

There is another point which has a still more important bearing on the question, and seems to have escaped attention. A forest forty miles long, named Spene Forest* (Spone in Domesday Book), occupied the entire valley of the Kennet from Hungerford to beyond Reading, embracing, of course, all the district of Speenhamland, and it is not conceivable that the Romans, who invariably avoided, if possible, carrying

* Chron. Abingdon.

their roads through extensive forests, would have penetrated a dense forest such as this must have been, when not only the Old Street, but the ancient Icknield Way and the Portway, running in parallel directions to the line described in the "Britannia Romana," about six or seven miles northward, were ready made to their hands, and capable of such easy utilization. From this forest, doubtless the Roman station, and all the district, took its name. The very term *Spinæ* ("the thorns") favours the notion, as applying to a thorny and wooded tract of land; whether, therefore, the Roman station was on the south of the forest at Speenhamland, or on the north side near the Slad, the name *Spinis* is equally appropriate. Couple these facts with the absence of any trace of a Roman road between Marlborough and Speenhamland, the want of anything approaching correctness in the numerals between those places in the last *Iter*, and also the little that seems to exist to connect the latter place with the Roman period, beyond a similarity of the name, and the conclusion is forced upon us that *Spinis* has been misplaced on the south of the forest, instead of the north. With this correction, we may adopt the *Iter* as Horsley has given it, substituting Wallingford for Silchester, the result being: From Caerleon, through Cirencester and *Spinis* (the Slad), to Wallingford, the distance is 90 S. M., which corresponds better with the xc. M. P. than the distance to Silchester, which is 101 S. M.

The true position of *Spinis* is not only an important point in interpreting this *Iter*, but it has a bearing equally important in considering the rival claims of Wallingford and Silchester as the site of *Calleva*. If it be rightly transferred from the south to the north side of Spene Forest, the case in favour of Wallingford is materially strengthened; a line of road from Caerleon to that place is presented, as appears by the plan, much more direct than by carrying the station to Speenhamland, and the distances are in better agreement with those in the *Itinerary*—instead of thirty-six statute miles from Cirencester to Speenhamland to answer the xv. M. P., we get twenty-five only to the Slad. Certainly, a difference of ten is considerable; but, as I have endeavoured to show in a subsequent page, the figures in the *Iters* cannot be implicitly relied on, particularly the numerals xv., which occur so frequently and so often in succession that they seem to have no fact to verify them.

ITER XIV. ITEM ALIO ITINERE AB ISCA CALLEVA, MILL. PASS. CHII.
Another route from Caerleon.

Ab Isca. Antoninus.	M. P.	To Silchester. Horsley.	S. M.	To Wallingford. Other readings.	S. M.
Venta Silurum	IX.	Caerwent*	7	Caerwent*	7
Abone . . .	IX.	Aunsbury (Aust.) by	30	} Passage across the estuary to Bitton (Abone)	20
Trajectus . .	IX.	Henham .			
		to			
Aquis Solis .	VI.	Bath		Bath . . .	6
Verlucione . .	XV.	Near Leckham, east of Lacock	12	Near Leckham	12
Cunetione . .	XX.	Marlborough .	18	Folly Farm,† near Marlborough	17
Spinis . . .	XV.	Speen . . .	18	Near the Slad, north-east of West Ilsley	16
Calleva . . .	XV.	Silchester . .	11	Wallingford station	11
	XCVIII.		96		89

The like discrepancy of opinion as to the sites of the Roman stations, particularly those between Bath and Caerwent, is to be met with here, as in other Iters, but the general direction of the line through Bath is admitted, and the questions that have been raised appear to affect only the exact positions, except in one or two instances. The first station, Venta Silurum, is placed by Burton at Chepstow, Abone at Brightstow, and Verlucione he takes to Warminster, Chippenham, or Wilton—places which are altogether out of the way to the next station, Cunetio, which he fixes at Marlborough; while Gale takes Verlucione to Westbury, Wright to Highfield, near Heddington, and Horsley to “near Leckham, or to Silverfield, near Lacock,” in the county of Wilts, on the banks of the Avon, where a great quantity of Roman money has been found, and which is in the course of the military way from Bath to Marlborough. This latter place, Lacock, ten miles from Bath, is the Verlucio of Stukeley. Camden places Abone at Aventon, or Alvington, in Gloucestershire. Wright and others take it to Bitton, about midway between

* Camden, Wright.

† Wright.

Bath and Bristol, and in fair agreement with the Mill. Pass. stated. The latter authority supposes the station *Ad Trajectum* to be at a spot on the opposite coast called *Severn-side*, whilst others consider it was situated at *Oldbury*, in the parish of, and two miles and three quarters north-west by west distant from, *Thornbury*, where it is said there was a ferry over the *Severn*.

It seems likely that *Trajectus* has been placed by mistake after instead of before *Abone*, and means the passage across the estuary. Roman antiquities have been found both at *Highfield* and *Folly Farm*, and as these places are, as well as *Leckham*, on the Roman road above referred to, traces of which were visible in 1809,* and fairly agree with the distances, we may assume they are properly placed in the third column.

There is a deficiency of five between the total mileage prefixed to the route, which is one hundred and three, and the sum of the particulars, which is ninety-eight only. This variance *Stukeley* endeavours to reconcile by substituting *xx.* for *xv.* opposite *Speen*—an addition which he did not suggest when dealing with the same place in the last *Iter*. By shifting the station *Spinis* from *Speenhamland* to the *Slad*, for which it is assumed sufficient reasons have been already given, the statute mileage opposite *Spinis* and *Calleva* would be 27, against the *xxx.* Roman.

This is the *Iter* to which it is suggested the stations (*ante*, p. 93) embracing the routes to *South Wales* and *Wroxeter*, should have been appended, and it will be observed the distances bear a favourable comparison with the Roman mileage:—

		In S. M. according to Horsley.	Other readings.
The particulars of the Roman mileage in Iter XIV. show a total of	xcviii.	96	89
Branch from <i>Caerleon</i> , westward <i>Iscæ</i> leg. II. Aug. <i>Caerleon</i> to <i>Bonio</i> (<i>Evenny</i>).	xv. xxvii.		25 17
<i>Nido</i> (<i>Neath</i>).	cxxxx.		131

* "Description of Britain, translated from Richard of Cirencester, with Commentary," p. 148.

		In S. M. according to Horsley.	Other readings.
Through Leucaro (Lahor, Lloughor,* or Llychwr) to Muridunum (Carmarthen)	27
Branch from Caerleon (North)			
Barrio (Usk)	IX.	7	7
Gobannio (Abergavenny).	XII.	10	10
Magnis (Kenchester)	XXII.	17	17
Bravinio (Ludlow)	XXIV.	27	27
Viroconio (Wroxeter)	XXVII.	21	21
	XCIII.	82	82

ITER XV. A CALLEVA ISCA DUMNUNIORUM, M. P. CXXXVI.

Antoninus.	M. P.	Horsley.	S. M.	Other readings.	S. M.
		From Silchester to		From Walling- ford to	
Vindomi . .	XV.	Farnham . . .	16	Silchester † . .	16
Venta Bel- garum . . .	XXI.	Winchester . .	25	Winchester . .	22
Brige . . .	XI.	Broughton † (12)	15	Broughton (12)	15
Sorbioduni .	VIII.	Old Sarum (10)	12	Old Sarum (10)	12
Vindogladia.	XII.	Near Cranburn .	14	Wimborne . .	14
Durnovaria .	VIII.	Dorchester . .	26	Dorchester . .	26
als. IX.			108		105
Muriduno .	CXXXVI.	Eggerton . . .	9	Honiton or Sea- ton	32
Isca Dumnu- niorum	XV.	Chiselborough .	12	Exeter . . .	16
	CXXVI.		129		153

This Iter is a repetition of Iter XII. down to Isca Dumnuniorum, and militates against Horsley's views, Vindomis again appearing as an intermediate station. A difference of ten miles occurs between the total prefixed, and that of the particulars, but with this addition the variance in mileage is wide. This is occasioned by the Roman numerals opposite Durnovaria being VIII. (probably a mistake), against the 26 statute. In other respects the distances in the third column

* A river of this name separates the counties of Glamorgan and Carmarthen.

† Camden, Burton, Gale.

fairly agree; and Honiton and Exeter, with the figures 48, far better answer the Roman mileage of *LI.*, than Eggerton and Chiselborough with the figures 21.

We have now considered the five "Itineraries" of Antoninus, with Horsley's corrections, which embrace Calleva; and if I have been fortunate enough to carry the reader's attention through the maze of intricacy and uncertainty which for the most part they present when taken as a whole, I shall not perhaps be singular in the opinion that most of the learned men who have attempted to illustrate the work—and they number over twenty—have shown a marvellous agreement on one point only, and that is, in disregarding the numerals, when such numerals do not advance particular views, and adopting them as positive evidence when they do. Nothing is settled with precision, either in the *Iters* above quoted or in those in other parts of the volume. Indeed, as to one with which we have not had occasion to deal, namely, the tenth, from Lanchester in the county of Durham to the borders of Shropshire, it is said the climax of unintelligibility seems to be reached, and that it is the most difficult and perplexing route of any in the list, there being hardly two of our antiquaries agreed about the beginning, the end, or the course of it. It would, therefore, be vain to look for any satisfactory result from the figures alone; there are manifestly so many mistakes and omissions, arising possibly from the carelessness of the copyists, or topographical errors, so much doubt and speculation arise in identifying the Roman name of the station, and in reducing the Roman into English miles, that we can only regard the "Itineraries" as imperfect links in the chain, or as mere helps to an end.

As a supplement to this, let us note a few of the expedients to which Horsley himself is driven, other than those already referred to, in making his theories "exact enough." In the length of Severus's Wall (p. 62), a fifty is added to the total; in another *Iter* one hundred and a ten are struck out of the numbers in p. 408, and in p. 456, "as the distance of the river from Chester is too little," another ten is inserted; in fact, Horsley is by no means sparing in his alterations in those instances where he considers that figures have been dropped or improperly inserted, or where neither numbers nor names are assumed to be correct; while there are cases

in which corrections, apparently needed, have not been made. For instance, out of the forty-five stations mentioned by Antoninus, no less than one-third of them appear as exactly fifteen Roman miles apart—an exactness which seems very improbable; and in Iter XII. each of the four consecutive stations between Muriduno and Isca Silurum bears these numerals, whereas, in statute miles, the distances apart, in a straight line, are twenty-one, twenty-one, ten, and thirteen.

There are many other such cases open to question, to which it is unnecessary to refer.

Horsley, towards the close of his elaborate treatise, admits that he is singular in his opinion with respect to the situation of Calleva, but expresses a "hope that the evidence on the side of this sentiment will balance the general authority that is opposed to it." To my mind the evidence appears not only altogether insufficient to support this hopeful view, but points in the opposite direction in sustaining the opinions of the great Camden and the many learned historians who have followed him; and as we pursue the subject further, the issue raised will be less doubtful.

The length of the Mille Passum.

The first question that naturally arises in considering the Iters is, What was the length of the *mille passum* in Britain? This is a point which seems never to have been satisfactorily solved, and to have given rise to a great diversity of opinion. "To settle the proportion of 'Itinerary,' miles to our computed miles, is," says Horsley, "in some measure to attempt to settle an uncertainty. It varies," he adds, "in different parts of the island. Through the most part of England, the proportion of miles in the 'Itinerary' to English computed miles is generally as three to four, or three computed miles make four in the 'Itinerary.' Sometimes the ratio may be as four to five, or less, but three to four is the nearest proportion, and that which seldom fails in the body of the kingdom." In Hampshire, however, he considers the difference is not more than one or two in twenty, but in no other county. Dr. Gale, in his edition of Antoninus's "Itinerary," makes fifteen English miles answer to twenty Roman. General

Roy, in his "Military Antiquities of the Romans," states, "From measurements made between several military columns along the Roman ways in Italy and France, as mentioned by D'Anville, it appears that the ancient Roman mile, consisting of 5000 Roman feet, contained 4533 French feet. According, therefore, to the above-mentioned proportion between the English and French measure, the ancient Roman mile must have been equal to 4831 English feet; hence, eleven English miles make a trifle more (108 feet only) than twelve Roman miles." Smith and Anderson give 4854 as the length in feet. "As to the scale of miles," says Dr. Plot, "there are three sorts in Oxfordshire—the greater, the lesser, and the middle." Burton considered that "each pace contained five feet Roman, somewhat longer than ours." The Abbé Balley insists that the miles in the "Itinerary" must be considered as Gaulish leagues, which are a mile and a half. Monsieur Gilbert asserts that the Roman *passus* had varied so much as to become six different kinds of measure. Many antiquaries compute a Roman *passus* to be five feet, or two steps, relying on a passage in Pliny; while the Hon. Daines Barrington, from whose paper, read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in 1768, the authorities for some of the foregoing statements are taken, says, "The Roman *passus* in the admeasurement of miles was no more than a common step, which does not exceed two feet and a half." Quotations could be multiplied down to the time of Wright, from his work of 1875, but they all show the same conflicting results, and prove the fallacy of trusting to the unaided figures in the Iters, and the need of corroborative circumstances, before drawing a conclusion on any particular proposition.

Neither are we at liberty to narrow our inquiry with respect to other roads, on the assumed but mistaken ground that Horsley has exhausted the subject.

A cursory inspection of the southern section of the map in the "Antonini Iter Britanniarum," as corrected by Horsley, will show how large a tract of country there is over which no route is marked, and the unintelligible circuitousness of some of the lines delineated thereon is equally manifest. It cannot be supposed that so considerable a breadth of country as that which embraces the valley of the Thames and the district

of Wallingford, and extended north-west from Staines to the river Wye, was left unsupplied by military ways. Horsley tells us "how careful the Romans were to have their stations placed near a river. No situation," he says, "they were so fond of as a *lingula* near the confluence of a larger and a smaller river. Wherever we meet with a river, at any reasonable distance from a preceding station, there we are almost sure to meet with a station." And Stukeley agrees, "that the strong camps of the Romans were chiefly by the rivers:" and again, Horsley says, "I cannot but think that several stations yet remain undiscovered only because they have not been sought in proper places, and by a proper method." Camden expresses an opinion that the Roman topography of Great Britain was then so little known that it only required diligent investigation and opportunities to make observations in many parts of the island, to be able to deduce therefrom a new "Notitia."

Dr. Plot has entered on this field of inquiry, and has handed down to us his observations on various fragments of roads in Oxfordshire and Berkshire; and in the itinerary miscalled "Richard of Cirencester,"* we get suggestions, if not materials, for supplying to some extent the large gap of country which Horsley has left a blank.

This itinerary has been rejected by most modern historians as unauthentic, whilst others at an earlier time have considered that it was made up of very discordant materials, and that in some parts it was imperfect from the damaged state of the manuscript. Among those who have questioned its authenticity are T. D. Whitaker, Gough, Conybeare, Hodgson, Guest, and Reynolds, but Mr. J. E. B. Mayor, in his preface to an edition of "Richard of Cirencester," among the "Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain," published at the instance of Her Majesty's Treasury, not only asserts that the work is of no authority, but that it is a modern forgery of which the manuscript has never been seen by any one, and he mentions Charles Julius Bertram, Professor of English in the Marine School at Copenhagen, as the fabricator, and Stukeley (who with John

* "Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Rerum Angliæ." From the copy in the University Library, Cambridge, edited by John E. B. Mayor, M.A.

Whitaker is its chief sponsor), "the most credulous of antiquaries," as having helped his correspondent to the name of Richard of Cirencester, and innocently palmed upon antiquaries the genuineness of the work.

Richard of Cirencester, or Circestre, was a monk of Westminster. His name first appears in the chamberlain's list in the year 1355, and he devoted a large portion of his time to travelling all over England to study the monastic and other libraries, to prepare himself for compiling a history of his own country. In 1391 he obtained a licence from the abbot to go to Rome, to inspect the literary treasures in that capital, with a like object. The first result of his labours was the publication of a work of five volumes, containing a history of the kingdom from the coming of the Saxons down to his own time. The earlier history of the kingdom, we may suppose, was to follow in accordance with his professed object; but it was not till about three centuries and a half had elapsed that the strange and accidental discovery of the manuscript is represented to have been made in Denmark, by Bertram, who first communicated the intelligence to Dr. Stukeley. The latter, in 1757, published a work which he entitled, "An Account of Richard of Cirencester, Monk of Westminster, and of his Works, with his Ancient Map of Roman Britain, and the Itinerary thereof." In the same year Bertram published, at Copenhagen, the alleged manuscript. Framed upon the model of Antoninus, which deals more fully with the stations in the south of the island, Bertram furnishes more copious information in regard to those in the north, and there is the same hap-hazard division between many of the stations; the numerals twenty and fifteen being repeatedly introduced to represent a mileage varying from fourteen to thirty statute miles. The work is much more extensive in its design than Antoninus, and specifies the names of a much larger number of cities, towns, roads, and rivers than are mentioned therein. No less than ninety-two cities, of which thirty-three are said to have been more famous than the others, nine colonies of Roman soldiers, ten cities under the Latian law, and twelve stipendiary, are all particularized; while it presents us with nineteen itineraries in different parts of the island, comprising one hundred and seventy-six stations, as against one hundred and

thirteen stations in Antoninus. Although the same difficulty in reconciling names, facts, and figures, occurs as in the case of the earlier geographer, there is certainly much in the latter work that is capable of absolute proof.

Calleva Atrebatum occurs three times, in three different Iters which are given therein, and a new Iter is marked out from north to south. In each case the British position of the Roman station at or near Wallingford receives some amount of corroboration.

Iter XII. gives a route from Bath to London through Cunetio, Spinis, Caleba Atrebatum, and Bibracte, which latter takes the place of Pontes in the seventh Iter of Antonine. Horsley and Hatcher consider the site of Bibracte doubtful, Leman fixes it at Egham, but now, by almost general consent, Bibracte is represented by the village of Bray, on the south of the town of Maidenhead. The position of this site for the Roman station is in a more direct line to London from Wallingford than from Silchester. Those who have laboured to prove that the Roman road from Silchester, as Calleva, to London lay through Staines, will hardly be prepared for a route through Bray, which is eleven miles distant on the north-west, while they will probably not deny that, if Bibracte be rightly placed at or near Bray, the Calleva-Wallingford theory, and the suggested line through Henley-on-Thames, before mentioned, receives support to the prejudice of Silchester.

In Stukeley's first edition of "Richard of Cirencester," the Atrebatas are called the "Berkshire people," and "Calleva Atrebatum" is applied to Wallingford as the metropolis of that country; thus altering the opinion he had previously expressed. In the year 1776, a second edition of a somewhat more extended work was published under his name, entitled "Antiquities of Britain, with the Itinerary of Richard of Cirencester," and herein Wallingford is called "Calleva Bibrocorum," and identified with Calleva Atrebatum. This work was a posthumous one, published eleven years after the doctor's death.

Iter XV. is "from London by Southampton to London again." Here Vindomis intervenes, between Caleba (Calleva) and Venta Belgarum, and Caleba is described as the capital of the Atrebatas, near the Thames, in distinction from that of

the Segontiaci, whose capital, Vindomis, is described as being further distant from that river and nearer to the Kennet.

Iter XVIII. mainly concerns us, being a route from north to south, not mentioned in Antoninus. The following is an extract:—

FROM YORK, THROUGH THE MIDDLE OF THE ISLAND TO SOUTHAMPTON.

	M. P.		S. M.		S. M.
* * * *					
Brinavis . .	162	Black Ground near Chip- ping Norton	} 29	Black Ground	} 29
Ælia Castra .	xvi.	Alcester . .		Alcester . .	
Dorocina . .	xv.	Dorchester . .	} 36	Dorchester . .	} 4
Tamesi . .	vi.	On Thames . .		At or near Wallingford	
Vindomi . .	xv	Farnham (Horsley) . .	} 35	Silchester . .	16
Claudento .	xxxi.	Southampton .		Southampton .	33
	LXXXIII.		100		82

In the Iter the numerals opposite Clausento are XLVI., which is clearly a mistake, the xv. opposite Vindomi having been included therein. This is shown by the fifteenth Iter, in which the distance from Vindomi to Clausento is stated to be XXXI.

If we refer to the works of English antiquaries, and the existing traces of ancient roads, the correctness of the above route will be established.

"The great road, or Roman way, from Allchester to Wallingford leadeth over Otmoore," is the description in a grant of land 34 Henry II., *post*, p. 285. Camden mentions "the Roman way cast up between Alcester and Wallingford." Other authorities state, "the Roman way from Allchester to Wallingford passeth through that part of the hamlet of Baldon called Baldon Brook End, and so goes on to Dorchester." "The way runneth from Alcester pretty straight through Otmoor and Beckley by Stow Wood on the east of Headington." According to Gough,* "a Roman road led from Sinodun Camp to a ford at Shillingford, within a mile of

* Vol. ii. p. 28.

Wallingford, and to another ford on the north-east of Dorchester called Queen's Ford."

Dr. Plot, who was historiographer to King James I., has given us more full particulars.

In his "Natural History of Oxfordshire,"* he describes some remains of two Roman roads traced by him in the county of Oxford, which appear to correspond with the latter portion of the above Iter, and to lead to Wallingford from Alcester—one of them through Banbury and Otmoor, and the other with a circuitous branch to Oxford, to avoid, as he states, that flooded district during winter. He thus describes one of these roads (p. 317)—

"There seems also to have been cast up another Roman way between the old city of Alcester, in the parish of Wendlebury, and the city of Calleva, whereof there is part to be seen to this day, running quite cross Otmoor, as described in the map, and coming out of the moor under Beckley Park wall, which 'tis plain has been paved (as, indeed, it had need) by the stones found upon and about the ridge, and nowhere else on the moor. From Beckley it passes on to, and may plainly be seen in, the wood near Stocker's, where, cutting the London road to Worcester, it goes plainly through the fields to Stafford Grove, and thence over Bayard's watering-place towards Heddington Quarry pits, leaving Shotover Hill on the left, and the pits on the right hand.

"At the foot of Shotover Hill it enters Magdalen College coppices, and thence through Brazennose College coppices, over the eastern part of Bullington Green, as I gather by its pointing, for it is not to be seen there, it having been ploughed down, as well in the Green, as fields thereabout, as may be seen by the marks of the ridge and furrow yet remaining upon it, whence I guess it passes on towards the two Baldens, and so for Wallingford."

There is no dispute about Dorchester having been a Roman station. Roman coins and medals and other relics have been frequently found there. Its rise is said to be due to the protection of the garrison on the neighbouring Sinodun Hill; but its origin seems to have been British, and, according to Archbishop Baldwin, the great British road led eastward through this place. Bertram carries the Wallingford station

* Page 28.

to a point on the Thames which he calls "Tamesi," vi. M. P. from Dorchester, in the way to Vindomis and Clausentum; but the distances, and a reference to his fifteenth Iter, show that "Tamesi" and "Caleba" mean one and the same place. Wright places Tamesi "in or near Wallingford;" Dr. Beeke at Moulsoford, under the impression that the Icknield Way crossed the Thames at that village; the Stukeley of 1757 carries it to Streatley, and Sir Richard Colt Hoare draws attention to a large enclosure a short distance from that place, near the river, on the road from Reading to Wallingford, called Fifield, on Southbury Farm, where Roman coins and other relics have been found. He thinks a Roman station existed on this ground, and perhaps, he adds, the one under the name of Tamesi in Iter XVIII.

Mr. Hewett, in his "History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Compton," assuming, and not without reason, that Tamesi and Calleva refer to one and the same station, also selects Streatley as the site, as exactly corresponding with several of the distances in the "Itineraries." "Exactly twenty-two miles," he says, "the village is from St. Leonard's Hill; just fifteen miles by way of Aldworth and Shaw, from Speen Hill, and from Silchester, through Pangbourne, precisely the same distance." Now, assuming the correctness of the figures, this exactness destroys the force of the argument, because the difference between the English and Roman mile has not been taken into the account; besides, there is no agreement with the distances to other places mentioned in the Iters, which admittedly occupy the sites of Roman stations, and, so far as we can learn, no discovery has been made, either at Streatley or Moulsoford, to meet the conditions which necessarily attach to a station so important as was Calleva Atrebatum. Dr. Beeke certainly tells us that a Roman "road crossed the Thames at Dorchester, and passed straight through Sotwell and Cholsey to Moulsoford;" but I can find no confirmation of the doctor's opinion. It is not unlikely that there might have been a little deviation in the direct line of road from the Baldons, for the purpose of communication with the camp on Sinodun Hill, on the opposite side of the river, which is nearly three-quarters of a mile distant from this once famous station. The crossing, however, according to some authorities, was at Shillingford,

which is straight for Wallingford, and on the north-west of Bensington. No trace of a Roman road is now discernible in either of the directions indicated.

To return to the distances. The distance from Dorchester to Mouldsford, as the crow flies, is six miles and a half; by the camp it would be increased to seven English miles. The distance to Wallingford, as the crow flies, is a little over three miles and a half, by the camp four miles and a quarter. From Dorchester to Wallingford, through Shillingford direct, is three miles and five furlongs. Now, if we take the Roman mile at 1618 English yards, or 142 yards less than the English statute mile, which is calculated from Cicero's estimate, and the mode of computation adopted in some cases, the seven statute miles to Mouldsford would represent, speaking approximately, seven and two-thirds Roman; and the four and a quarter miles to Wallingford would represent four miles and two-thirds Roman. In this way, the test of minute measurement favours Mouldsford. But if we adopt Horsley's and Gale's ratio of three to four, that is, three English miles to make four in the "Itinerary," the distances would be—Mouldsford eight and three-quarters M. P., and Wallingford five and a half M. P., against the six M. P. in the Itinerary; and thus the test would operate in favour of Wallingford. Streatley, being two miles further off, would present a greater variance, and the figures need not be quoted.

On the whole, it seems that the opinion of Wright carries with it the greatest weight, owing to the undoubted connection of Wallingford with the Roman period, and the near approach to agreement with the "Itineraries" which the town exhibits. From Brinavis (near Chipping Norton), on the road through Alcester, to Dorchester the statute mileage is twenty-nine, as against thirty-one M. P.; from Dorchester to Wallingford station on the south of the town, the six M. P. would be but slightly in excess of the actual distance, and from thence the distance to Silchester, which is the next station, sufficiently agrees with the xv. M. P. A very near approximation would result from a slight curve of the line in nearing the camp at Sinodun Hill.

The next station is Vindomi, in juxtaposition with Calleva Atrebatum, at a distance of xv. M. P.

If Horsley be right in carrying this station to Farnham,

the distance would be at least thirty-two English miles, and consequently more according to the Roman scale, and under no reasonably conceivable circumstances would this agree with the seventh Iter of Antoninus, upon which he places so much reliance. If Vindomis be Silchester, as we believe it was, a satisfactory result is obtained, and the simple and obvious correction of the numerals opposite Clausento, which has been explained, is all that is necessary.

It may be added that Tamesi occurs in the anonymous geographer of Ravenna, and so it would seem does Doricina, under the name Durcinate, which is the nearest approach to it.

It would have been more satisfactory to have given the itineraries in Bertram's work in full, but, sharing in the opinions that have been expressed, that the work is not the genuine production of the Westminster monk, I am not at liberty to call in aid the authority of his name. That the work contains a large amount of information, a good deal of which has been proved to be correct (as we have already shown in one instance), and a good deal more bears the stamp of reliability, I think is admitted; but correctness is no proof of genuineness, and it may be thought that the same sources of information from which the work was compiled are equally accessible to us. Still, it is hard to believe that a professor of a foreign university could have compiled a work of such a comprehensive character relating to the topography of this kingdom, unless he had had something more than the ordinary materials from which to elaborate his history.

Thus we are supplied with a Roman road from north to south, which partly occupied the void in the valley of the Thames left by Antoninus. But there is still the Thames valley district from west to east, on which no Iter is marked, and it remains to be seen whether the following grounds are sufficient to justify the opinion that a route existed from Caerleon to Cirencester (Corinium), through or near Cricklade and Wallingford, almost direct to London. Of the importance and status of Caerleon in the early Roman period, no one doubts. Softened into that name from *Caer Legion*, "the City of the Legion," it was at one time the capital* of *Britannia Secunda*, which comprehended the present North and South Wales

* Geraldus, "Iter," ch. v.; "*Horæ Britannicæ*," Wright.

with part of Herefordshire and Shropshire; and it was said to be—although that has been doubted—the third city in Britain.

It is admitted also that Corinium was a Roman military station of great extent and eminence, and the capital * of the Dobuni, and said to have been the winter quarters for the troops. The four ancient roads before referred to led out of the city.

Its construction is generally ascribed to a Roman general in the time of Claudius,† immediately after the first permanent conquest which the Romans had made amongst us, at about the period when, according to Tacitus,‡ the city of London was erected. The walls enclosed about two hundred and forty acres of ground.§ Vestiges of magnificent houses, temples, and public buildings still remain, marking more probably a somewhat later period, and many rich and elegant mosaic pavements have been dug up within the vallum and ramparts.

In the neighbourhood also the remains of many Roman villas have been discovered. At Chedworth,|| a few years ago, the accidental loss of a ferret, in digging out which some tesserae were brought to light, led to excavations which disclosed a Roman villa with rooms of large dimensions, highly artistic pavements, and a complete Roman bath, besides many beautiful relics of Roman art, which were, and probably are now, deposited in a museum attached to the villa.

Within ten miles from Cirencester is Northleach, where there is an exceedingly large camp, double trenched, which Aubrey calls one of the biggest Roman camps in England.

The conclusion at which we must arrive from these particulars is that a place so important as Cirencester undoubtedly was, having all the characteristics of a great metropolis, and in connection with Caerleon, would certainly have had a more direct communication with the London præfectura, and the stations eastward, than is afforded by the circuitous road through Silchester and Hampshire delineated on the plans.

* "Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin," by Sir Richard Colt Hoare.

† Richard of Monmouth, and others.

‡ *Annales*, lib. xiv. ch. 33, and lib. xii. ch. 32.

§ Birchman and Newmarsh, "Roman Art in Cirencester."

|| Leland, "History and Antiquities of Cirencester," *Archæologia*, etc.

By the route through or near Wallingford, a direct line of road is presented, along which the old London turnpike road traversed a great part of the course.

Messrs. Birchman and Newmarsh describe the course of the four ancient roads out of Cirencester, and take us to the neighbourhood of Wallingford by the Ermyn Street.

The Ermyn Street is generally supposed to have commenced at Caerleon, and passing Cirencester and Cricklade, it took a direction nearly south-east. Between Cirencester and Birdlip, the course is described * as being remarkably straight, and generally raised considerably above the level of the adjoining land on either side. The professor and Mr. Newmarsh say, "From Cirencester the road extended to Calleva, near Streatley, which was the chief station of the Atrebrates. Here it branched off southward to Venta, and eastward to London.

At Wallingford we reach the traditional ford where are the shallows referred to by King Alfred, and Port Royal—the latter being the island near the bridge—from which William the Conqueror effected a passage of the river in his way eastward; and it seems probable that the Romans forded the stream at this spot.

Berin's Hill, on the Chiltern range, about equidistant from Sinodun Hill and Henley-on-Thames, is a little too far southward to be in the direct line, but all the evidence points to this place as having been a Roman station or outpost.

We are favoured by Mr. Edward Anderdon Reade, C.B., with the following contribution, which is rendered the more valuable and interesting on account of the local knowledge he possesses, and the great attention he has paid to the subject:—

Berin's Hill.

"The evidences of Roman occupation of Berin's Hill and around it are remarkable, indicating that it was not merely one of a chain of posts between Sinodun Hill originally, and Wallingford subsequently, but also occupied by a detachment of some force. Such doubtless was necessary for a time in a densely wooded region, offering haunts and facilities for predatory incursion, until all resistance had died away. Berin's

* "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica," vol. x.

Hill was very probably the pass into the Chiltern Hills from this side before the Roman period, a post of observation of the plains below it, for, viewed at a distance, the continuity of the woodland on either side seems to have been broken at a remote age, and oak trees still prevail in the space intervening between beech woods extending far on both sides. Some ancient British coins of the Phœnician type have been found here. But of Roman coins, from the era of Augustus to Constantius, great numbers have been and continue to be found. Below the brow of this hill is the Roman Well, as it is still called, and certainly, from the peculiarity of its interior construction, it is one of great antiquity, though from trees having been allowed to grow up around it, it has been long rendered useless by accumulation of dead leaves and brushwood within it.

"Within a short mile of Berin's Hill on the lesser eminence of Ipsden Church Hill, there was till very recently the indication of a Roman camp, for the church mere, or turfway to the church (known to have been founded at the beginning of the twelfth century), preserved by its use exhibited parts of a vallum at its extremities. In course of ages agriculture has reduced the rest of the enclosure, and the recent levelling of the church mere has effaced the remainder, so far that the outline is only discernible on the first springing of the crops. Except for military purposes, its object is not conceivable, and it has been thought to have been a *castra æstiva*, or summer camp, subordinate to the chief position on Berin's Hill, from its convenient vicinity to the Drinean stream below it, which now resumes its activity at long intervals, though at the longest, and in the reign of Edward III.; it served a water-mill at its junction with the Thames. Within this enclosure no recognizable Roman coins have been found, but some defaced pieces, which may have been used by the soldiers in their favourite game of *omilla*,* or chuck farthing.

"On the table-land above Berin's Hill are the potteries of Stoke Row, which have been working from ancient times, but within a limited range, no other being nearer to it than two miles, and the evidence of antiquity is the considerable number and great depth of the clay pits within a short distance of the kilns, which cannot be ascribed to large operations in brick-making, the site being remote from towns

* Arbuthnot's "Dissertation on Playthings."

and not easily accessible. The clay also, being somewhat porous, is better suited for pottery manufactures. These are and ever have been of utensils for ordinary domestic purposes, which do not vary in their forms now, and have been transmitted down for generations, but have been pronounced by competent judges to bear unmistakable evidence of the old Roman patterns. Hereabouts also the cherry tree has been extensively naturalized. Pliny tells us it was first brought to Rome by Lucullus from Pontus, in Asia, and transplanted to Britain in the Roman era corresponding to the middle of the first Christian century (A.D. 48), which synchronizes with the last year of Plantius's government, and incidentally evidences, by the importation of a choice fruit tree, the confidently firm hold the Romans had of South England at the time. It is curious that the local method called 'budding,' which those employed for the purpose affect to hold as an hereditary secret, but which consists in making a slit in the bark of a tree grown from a seedling, and inserting a bud from one of a more choice description, with certain precautions, is precisely the *emplastratio* of Columella.

"The incidents of a later age reflect a kind of light on the Roman period. The name, Berin's Hill, is thought with reason to be derived from Berinus, the first Bishop of Dorchester, deputed by Pope Honorius as a missionary to the West Saxons in 626 A.D. He fixed upon Dorchester for his abode, and laboured with such success there and around it, as to attract the attention of the Prince Cynegils, who became his convert, and granted to him Dorchester and other lands in South Oxfordshire. Dorchester remained an episcopal seat till some few years after the Norman Conquest, when William turned out the refractory and last Saxon bishop, Alexander of Dorchester, and removed the seat to Lincoln. Berin's Hill was one of the Dorchester tenures, and officially bore the name of Bisposdone, from Bisceops Down—the Bishop's Hill, which, till the time of the dissolution of Dorchester Abbey and its branches, was retained in the more modern form of Bishopton. It is reasonable to suppose, and pleasant to believe, that Berinus and his clergy here preached the gospel, and the tradition remains. But the noticeable point is that 216 years after the Romans had quitted Britain, Berinus was deputed from Rome, and fixed upon an old Roman

town under the shadow of the old Roman camp on Sinodun Hill, and selected for his missionary work the site of its outpost."

To the east of Berin's Hill, just under the Chiltern range, is the village of Ewelme, near which the Icknield Way passes. Hereabouts in 1722, within about seventy yards from that way, were found enclosed in an urn three hundred and thirty-seven Roman coins, belonging to fourteen different Emperors and usurpers, from Gallienus down to Carausius. They were mostly handed to William Tipping, Esq., of West Court, in the parish of Ewelme. This discovery and other circumstances led Mr. Pointer* to suggest that Carausius, by whom or by whose order he considers the coins were buried, may have had his station at Ewelme, although he thinks it more probable "that he would succeed Gallienus at his station at Wallingford, ready made to his hands, and but three miles off."

From Wallingford two lines of communication to the great capital are open to us—one through Henley-on-Thames and Maidenhead (Bray), for which high authority can be quoted; and the other through Marlow, which has not so much to commend itself. By the latter route the Thames would be crossed once only. By the former, following the old turnpike road from Bath and Oxford to London throughout part of its course, it would have to be crossed three times. But although this has been urged as an argument against the acceptance of the theory, we are not to suppose that the Romans, who carried their roads, as in the instance at High Street† in Westmoreland, over difficult and precipitous heights, if not mountains, without deviating from the straight line, were likely to be deterred by the little checks which a river, fordable at many places, presented; and we are justified in supposing that the ford at Wallingford, referred to by King Alfred, was well known. "It is a characteristic of Roman roads," says Simpson,‡ "that they are not carried over rivers by bridges, but by fords, except when the rivers are impassable, and then bridges are thrown over." That there were several fords in the river besides the important one at Wallingford, and that the latter was used by the Romans at

* "Britannia Romana," p. 31. † Wright, third edit., p. 222.

‡ Simpson's "History of Lancaster."

the time of their conquest of the island, as it was afterwards by William the Conqueror, cannot very well be doubted.

Following on, about six miles take us from Berin's Hill, through Nettlebed, where, says Archbishop Baldwin,* "there are still the remains of a Roman camp," to Henley-on-Thames, which Dr. Gale, on a mistaken assumption, makes the *Calleva Atrebatum* of Antoninus and *Caleba* of Ravennas. The evidence of Roman occupation of this place is rather scanty, but Roman coins have been found there, and traces of a Roman road seem to have been discovered, which Gale connects with a road to *Spinæ*. Dr. Plot considers that what is now called Grim's Dyke, referred to a few pages on, was a Roman way between Wallingford and Henley, and thence to Colnbrook. It is very inviting to adopt the learned geographer's views, owing to the direct connection between the two points, particularly as they receive the support, to some extent, of Stukeley, confirmed by Grose,† who states—

"*Oxon.*—Another (Roman) road is the remains of a vicinal way called Grime's Dike, which enters this county from Berkshire near Wallingford, crosses the Thames, and running south-east and crossing Icknield Street, passes the Thames a second time near Henley, and re-enters Berkshire." Mr. Pointer, after describing the Icknield Way, adds, "Another old Roman way is a vicinal way, an old vallum, or high-ridged bank, now called Gryme's Dyke, crossing the Icknield within two miles of Ewelme, between Wallingford and Colnbrook." A like opinion is expressed in the 1727 edition of the "*Magna Britannia*," although the position of Wallingford station is considered to have been between Mongewell and Newnham Murren, to the south of the existing borough boundary. The better opinion appears to be that Grim's Dyke constituted a British tribal boundary, and ought not to be classed strictly among Roman roads; but be this as it may, it must be conceded that this ridge and trench bank, which opened up such an important part of the country, although not originally designed as a highway, was doubtless used as such, not only possibly by Julius Cæsar, as suggested, but also by the Romans before their own more perfect military roads were constructed, just as we know they used and improved other British works when they had a purpose to serve.

* "*Itinerary*" (A.D. 1188).

† "*Antiquities*," vol. iii.

Harpden, close to Henley, has a fortification unmistakably Roman, which Mr. Reade considers was the original post, transferred to Henley in later and more peaceable times. From Henley to Bibracte (Maidenhead or Bray) in the eighteenth Iter of "Cirencester," and thence to Langley or Colnbrook, we get over about seventeen miles. The former place is supposed by some to be the Pontes of Antoninus. It is seventeen miles from London, and on the old Bath Road, which was diverted to its present course upon the building of Maidenhead Bridge in 1772. Colnbrook is also on the old Bath Road, and more generally supposed to be the Pontes referred to. It is about two miles nearer London; then meeting the Roman road, which crosses from Turnham Green to Shepherd's Bush, on the Uxbridge Road, the city would be entered by way of Oxford Street and Holborn.

Bray and Maidenhead are adjoining parishes, and it is supposed the station was nearer the latter town than the former village. Leland states that this town was originally denominated "Alaunodunum," but I do not find the name in any other authority.* According to the Rev. Charles Kerry, the entrenchments on Maidenhead Thicket are unquestionably of Roman origin; other writers refer to this spot as the undoubted site of a Roman camp. "Numerous Roman coins," says Kerry, "have been found at Bray, including specimens of the reigns of Vespasian, Julianus, Constantius, Constans, Constantine, Valens, Gallienus, and Arcadius." A writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for August, 1795, associates with them various fragments of armour and weapons, which have been at different times ploughed up.

It seems to be urged that, because a Roman road has been traced to the river at Staines, therefore Colnbrook, as the Ad Pontes of Antoninus, must be excluded, and that name applied to Staines; but by the fifteenth Iter of "Cirencester" we are led to Bray or Maidenhead as the Roman station Bibracte, which is in the direct line from Wallingford to Colnbrook. I fail to see the force of this argument for the rejection of Colnbrook, and it is certainly a strong circumstance in favour of that place that the river Colne northward divides itself

* Mr. Martin remarks, "Leland mentions it in the 'Cygneæ Cantio,' but I am not aware of its being really a Roman name. Many of the names in that poem are Leland's invention."

into three distinct streams, which would have to be crossed, and to which, assuming there were bridges over them, the term "Ad Pontes" is singularly applicable—an applicability which in no sense attaches to Staines.

The suggested line through Marlow, though it cannot claim any learned advocacy, is not without support as a continuation of a direct road from Cirencester. Having crossed the Icknield Way near Wallingford, a stage of about seventeen miles would take us into the neighbourhood of Marlow, where a Roman camp is said to have been. At Little Marlow north end, thirty-two Roman copper coins were found in 1772, chiefly of the middle empire. Of eight of them, once in the possession of Colonel Innes, two were of Antoninus Pius, two Faustina, two Vespasian, one Trajan, and one Aurelius. Not far off is the supposed site of a Roman station in Desborough field, near the circular camps at High Wycombe and West Wycombe, and where British coins, mosaic pavement, and coins of the Emperors Nerva, Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius, have been found.

Keep or Castle Hill, about half a mile from High Wycombe, bears evident traces of having been a British or Roman station. Vestiges of the outworks appear, and there are two fosses on the north and east sides. In 1827 ten British coins were discovered there, and are now in the British Museum. In 1722 a tessellated pavement was found in Lord Shelburne's* grounds, and in 1797 part of a Roman vessel was dug up in the High Street of the town. These circumstances, and the situation of Castle Hill, induced the Rev. Thomas Langley, D.C.L.,† to think that the Romans had here a more permanent residence than a station. From the neighbourhood of Marlow or Wycombe the route would take a south-easterly direction, through Farnham Royal (where are some large and deep entrenchments) to Langley and Colnbrook, and London would be entered by the Turnham Green Road, as before described.

Thus we reach the great metropolis, by a route much more direct than that through Silchester, the mileage being ten or twelve less.

* *Archæologia*, vol. xxi. p. 297; *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1827, p. 493.

† "History and Antiquities of the Hundred of Desborough."

CHAPTER V.

ROMAN PERIOD—*continued.**The Grim's Dyke of South Oxfordshire.*

DR. PLOT classes Grim's Dyke "amongst the many vicinal ways, or *chimini minores*, mentioned by Antoninus in his 'Itinerary,'" and considers that it went between Pontes, now Colnbrook, and the old city Calleva, now Wallingford; and he remarks, "'Tis plain that Wallingford stood not formerly where it now doth, this old vallum, or high ridged way pointing down between Mongewell and Nuneham [Newnham] Warren, or Murren, on the Oxfordshire side of the river, as described in the map, near a mile below the town as it is now seated.

"This vallum, or ridged bank, now called Grimsdike, as it runs toward Pontes, yet remains very high, but is but single till it comes near the woods near Tuffield, *alias* Nuffield, where it appears double, with a deep trench between, like the ways near Piperno and at Porto, in Italy, which induces me to believe that that part near Wallingford was once so too, and therefore called Grimsditch; the trench, in all likelihood, being filled up with one of the banks thrown into it upon the increase of agriculture, perhaps at first designed only to carry off the water, and the two banks on each side for the carriages twixt the stations; those from Wallingford to Pontes going upon one bank, and those from Pontes to Wallingford on the other, so that there should be no disturbance by meeting on the way. From Tuffield, I was told, it holds on its course through the thick woods, and passed below Henley into Berkshire again; but, the woods scarce admitting a foot-passage, much less for a horse, I could not conveniently trace it further."

Mr. Burn, in his "History of Henley-on-Thames," fixes the exact position of Grim's Dyke in Bell Street, in that town, obtaining his information from some old muniments of title, dated 1591 and 1775, in which the situation of the dyke is described. He adds, "It is, however, still uncertain at what part of the river it was connected with the Berkshire dyke, but probably above the bridge." Following its course westward into the Chiltern range, he gives a minute and interesting description; and, nearing Wallingford, he remarks, "The trigonometrical survey shows the line of the ditch from the east of Wallingford to Mongewell."

Mr. Reade, entertaining the opinion that Grim's Dyke was a work of the Celtic Britons, combats the views of Dr. Plot in giving to the dyke a Roman origin. It may be that the doctor never penetrated into the earlier history of the dyke; but, assuming the work to be Celtic, and, as before suggested, utilized by the Romans, its classification in the lower grade of Roman ways may be accepted as not altogether without excuse.

Mr. Reade also speaks doubtfully as to a continuance of the dyke on the other side of the river at Henley. A branch, called by the common people "Grimmers," and by geographers "a remarkable foss," runs on the south of the parishes of Padworth and Aldermaston, and takes an opposite direction to Henley, over a tract of country originally down, and now abounding in woodland. No trace of the dyke appears to be recorded over the more highly cultivated land on the east of Henley.

The Icknield, or Ickleton, Ways and their connections, etc.
(*Ante*, p. 81.)

This was probably the great high-road from east to west in ancient times. The Oxfordshire portion of it is delineated in the map of Dr. Plot, who seems to have carefully traced it from its entrance into his county, near Chinnor, at the north-east, to its junction with the river Thames on the south-west. He terms it one of the four Consular or Pretorian ways (*chimini majores*). The road is known by various names—Ickleton, Icknil, Acknil, Hackney, Hackington, Icknield, and it seems to have been confounded with the Ickle Street of Dugdale and Hollingshed, which passes through Warwickshire. Enter-

ing the county of Oxford at Kempton, it skirts the Chiltern Hills, passing near Chinnor, Crowell, Kingston, Aston Rowant, Lewknor, Shirburn, Watlington; then, taking a westerly direction, it runs on the south of Ewelme, east of Crowmarsh-Gifford, and Newnham Warren, or Murren, as the place is now called, within one mile and a half from the present boundary of Wallingford, across Grim's Dyke (which it severs in its passage through), east of Mongowell, near the three Stokes—Little Stoke, North Stoke, and South Stoke—in the direction of Goring, where it is supposed to have crossed the river Thames on the north of Streatley. On the Berkshire side it throws off a collateral branch, and passes near the village of Aldworth and Hampstead Hermitage, and thence, as Stukeley imagined, to Old Sarum, and the Land's End. Traces of a Roman road have been found in the parish of Frilsham; and at Hampstead Norris,* tessellated pavement, a few coins, and a number of Roman bricks were discovered on excavating a field near Well House in 1827, and more recently other Roman relics have been found. It is stated in the "*Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*," vol. iv., that two milliaries, which were then to be seen, were discovered by Mr. Hearne between Aldworth and Streatley. The former place is mentioned as a town of note in the time of the Romans, and Beech Farm, within the parish, as having been built by the Romans for a garrison, though the author adds, "It was not so considerable for bigness or strength as Silchester or Wallingford, or any others that are so much celebrated in our history." Beech Farm is also referred to by Sir Richard Colt Hoare as the site of a Roman station. After a considerable break, the main road may be traced again under the name of the Ridgeway, or Ickleton Street, in Cholsey parish, stretching along the summit of the Downs in a westward direction.

Most of our geographers agree in opinion, but more from its pointing than any visibly connecting traces, that the Ickleton Way extended to the Land's End from Norfolk and Suffolk (formerly the kingdom of the Iceni), and probably derived its name from that kingdom, Icen elde Street, or Old Street, as Horsley calls it.

Plot says it is the only way he has met with which is not

* Lewis, "*Topographical Dictionary*."

cast up in a ridged bank, or laid out by a deep trench, and the reason he gives is the situation under the Chiltern Hills being on "firm fast ground."

So many authorities have selected Goring as the spot at which the Ickleton Way crossed the Thames from Oxfordshire, that one hesitates to suggest a doubt on the point; but those who know the locality will look upon the high precipitous hills around the opposite village (Streatley) as presenting a more than ordinary obstacle to the formation of a road originally designed more for civil than military purposes. Moreover, there is nothing now left to identify the adopted track with a Roman road. Roger Gale seems to have given up all trace of the road as lost in the neighbourhood of Goring. We may, therefore, well suppose there was no defined track, and arrive at the conclusion, which seems forced upon us, that the passage of the river was at a point, not skirted by these hills, nearer Wallingford. Looking at the features of the surrounding country, and the pointing of the several roads, we may well imagine that the junction station, from which several branch lines diverged, was near the river, not far from Halfpenny Lane, in Cholsey parish. Traversing that lane, the main line took a direction by King's Standing, and Lowborough Hill, to the Slad as before mentioned, and appears to have been in connection with the important posts on the Downs more to the west, either directly or by a branch. Although visible traces of this road are disappearing every year, it has not lost its name, for the entire line from Halfpenny Lane towards Compton Downs retains its reputation as part of the Ickleton Way utilized by the Romans. Along or near its course are various objects which mark an occupation by that people. Passing onward by King's Standing, we come to Lowbury Hill, four miles from East Ilsley, on the summit of which are still observable some slight traces of this strong Roman outpost, and where Roman pottery, tesserae, and oyster shells have been found in great abundance. On the corner of Unwell Wood is a circular barrow, surrounded by a fosse, and in the immediate neighbourhood are several other barrows. Speaking of the large tract of land called "The Slad," on the north and east of the village of West Ilsley, Hewett, in his "History of the Hundred of Compton," states: "During agricultural operations in

these fields, innumerable quantities of Roman coins of Gratian, Valens, Probus, Valentinian, Constantine, and other Emperors have been brought to light. When the old meer banks were levelled at the time of the enclosure of this manor, about thirty years* ago, an immense number of Roman antiquities were discovered, and yet there are no indications of any earthworks or buildings such as we usually observe at these spots. Most of the coins, which are called by the villagers 'Slad farthings,' are of copper, and small size, but generally in admirable preservation. Many of the larger brass, some silver coins, and others plated with that metal, have also been found. Popular tradition points out this spot as the site of an extensive town, a statement confirmed by the immense number of bricks, tiles, human bones, fragments of antique pottery, and other relics which have been discovered here. . . . At Roden Down are several deep pits, irregular dykes, and earthworks. All across this down may be traced an ancient street, extending directly from Lowbury Hill to the Slad, both which places were occupied by the Romans." Other discoveries are described by Hewett, all conspiring, he adds, to prove that some settlement of the Romanized Britons once existed in this valley—an opinion in which Sir Richard Colt Hoare concurs. The latter authority observes, "On ascending the hill, about one mile and a half to the south-west, between East Ilsley and Compton, an ancient settlement of the Britons was decidedly marked. On the highest part of the hill is an earthwork of a circular form, following in a great measure the shape of the hill. The ramparts are single, and of a moderate height." Referring to the Roman settlement in the Slad, he remarks that he always found the term "Cold Harbour" in the vicinity of a Roman road. This name, derived from the British words, *Col*, or hill, and *arbhar*, an army, also designates a *statio militaris*. At the latter place there is a farm so called, and also near Perborough Castle.

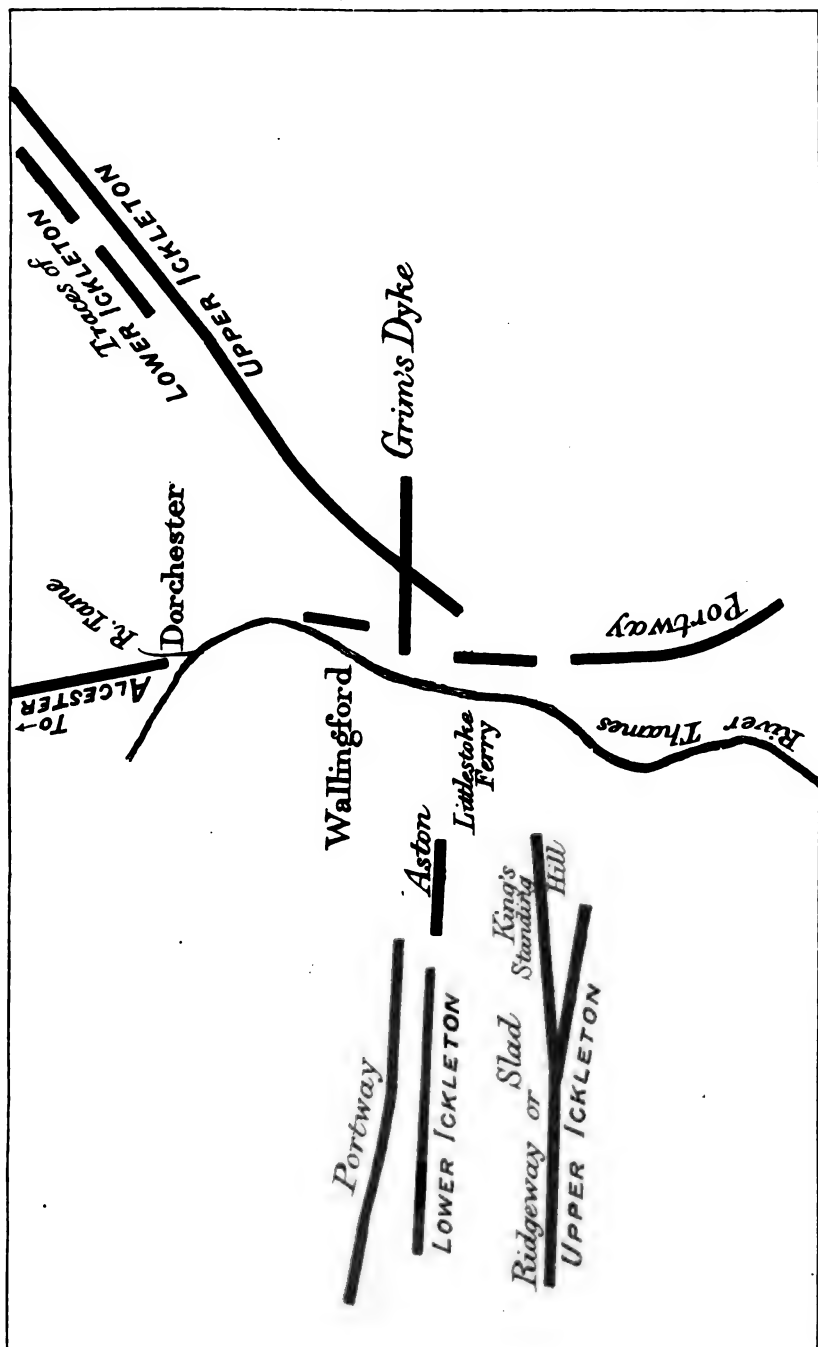
In addition to the upper way above described, there is also to be traced the Lower Icknield or Ickleton Way, under Stokenchurch Hill, near Lewknor and Aston Rowant, in Oxfordshire, but it is not so marked in its course on that side of the river as the upper road; but on the Berkshire side a greater length of it is delineated on the ordnance maps.

* He published his work in 1844.

Portions may be distinctly traced over Hagbourne Hill, and, although it is abruptly lost sight of near that village, we may conclude, from its pointing, that both the Oxfordshire and Berkshire sections were continuous, and crossed the river at or near Wallingford. Mr. West, in his letter to Dr. Mead, "concerning some antiquities in Berkshire" (p. 43), referring to this way, observes that near Blewberry it is visible enough. He mentions this place as implying something Roman in its termination, and considers the hill at a little distance from the road, between Aston and Blewberry, called Blewburton, or Bluderdon, to have been formerly a strong Roman fortification. The course of the Lower Ickleton, which, according to West, is uncertain, is given in the "*Magna Britannia*," by Mr. Church, a surveyor of Wantage, who describes its eastward course from that town, from personal observation, to a point nearer Wallingford than Blewberry. He observes, after giving the westward direction, "It appears again after crossing the Newbury Way by Wiltshire's and Halve Hill barns, in East Hendred parish, from thence through the parishes of Harwell,* West Hagborne, and the hamlet of Upton to the village of Blewberry, and through the parishes of Aston Tirrold and Cholsey to Moulsoford on the Thames," and thence, he appears to think, to Streatley. But this view is not borne out by the detail he gives, which is more consistent with the opinion before advanced, that the line of road went near Halfpenny Lane. He describes it from Upton, through Blewberry, as following the course of the turnpike road from Wantage to Reading, as far as the thirteenth milestone; when, instead of diverting to the right, it continues straight by Lollington Copse, under the adjoining hill, towards Little Stoke Ferry, thus making the vicinity of Halfpenny Lane the junction point.

The sketch shows the traces that have been discovered, or are well authenticated, of these roads in the neighbourhood of Wallingford, and also of the "Portway," next referred to.

* Although Ickleton Street is within a mile from the village of Harwell, it may be that Mr. Church, at this point, has got on the Portway, which is somewhat nearer.



London, Wilt., & Charles St. Hill, London, S.O.

The Portway.

Traces of the Portway are visible on both sides of the town. On the west it skirts the Downs and runs parallel with the Lower Icknield, but no vestige of it on that side appears nearer to the town than at Aston Tirrold; its pointing, however, undoubtedly carries us to a connection with the section on the Oxfordshire side of the river, at or near Wallingford. By some authorities it is called "the Portway from Wallingford to Alchester," and Plot mentions "some footsteps of that decayed ancient station" as existing in his time, at the junction of the way with Akeman Street; which, coming out of Buckinghamshire, enters Oxfordshire at the village of Blackthorn, and passes on close by Alchester and Woodstock Park into Gloucestershire, towards Bath. Messrs. Lysons refer to it as pointing to some spot south of Wallingford. Others consider it formed only part of the old Roman way between the two places above named (Wallingford and Alchester), and that it had several branches out of it, one of which led to Oxford.

The course westward of the Portway, which is a name commonly applied to Roman roads, seems to have been from Wallingford, through or near the Hagbornes, Harwell, East Hendred, Wantage, and Uffington, in the county of Berks, to the north-easterly borders of Wiltshire. The Lower Ickleton appears to run in the same direction for a part of its course, but it is not altogether clear that the same line of country was traversed all the way by two distinct Roman roads, although new roads often ran parallel with these trackways.

Another old road reputed to be Roman, called Wattle Bank, or Ash Bank, is described as a branch out of Icknield Street, extending from near Fritwell, in Oxfordshire, to Bensington, or Benson, which is within a mile of Wallingford. In the old terriers it is called *Aves dich*, perhaps, Plot remarks, a corruption of *Offa's Ditch*. Mr. Beisby, in his "History of Banbury," describes the course of this earthwork on the north of the county, and states that the portions of the vallum which remain are yet in some parts five feet high, and from five to ten yards in breadth. This road and the Oxfordshire Portway are both near together, pointing to Charleton, in Northamptonshire, and *Bennonis* or *Vennonæ* (by the Saxons called

Claycester), in the confines of Warwickshire and Leicestershire. The Portway being much shorter and more direct, Plot accounts for the improved line of road by remarking that "the Romans, when their way was not well laid out, or was longer than needed, did commonly lay them straighter and better."

We will now notice some of the discoveries that have been made, in order to show the connection of the town with the Roman period.

In the first chapter reference is made to the opinions of Gale, and some few others, who favour the theory that Wallingford had no Roman origin or occupation. They erroneously base their opinions on the supposed non-existence of Roman remains or traditions, and build up their theories upon mistaken conjecture, without possessing any local knowledge. So clear is this that no debatable ground can arise. But first, let us draw attention to the situation and surroundings of the town, which presents natural advantages for military purposes not to be met with elsewhere in these parts, and with which Silchester can offer no comparison. To the Roman soldier's eye, the position of the town on the banks of the Thames, with the fordable passage across—at any rate traditionally Roman—and its belt of commanding height and British earthworks, must have appeared unique, and particularly attractive for warlike operations; while a country rich in pasture and corn, with an abundance of water and ready means of transport, must have furnished ample provision for the troops. Survey the district from almost any point on the Downs on the one side, or the Chiltern range on the other, or on the intervening high ground, and the truth of all this appears at a glance. A perfect amphitheatre of hills (some of them seven or eight hundred feet above the level of the sea) presents itself, from the top of which the country beyond and around appears like so much table-land for miles and miles, and it is evident, from the number of trenches, dykes, and barrows that meet the eye in all directions, that these commanding heights were utilized for military purposes.* As

* "It does not appear," says Mr. H. Bloxam ("Monumental Architecture," p. 24), "that the Romans customarily raised barrows over their dead; and even those tumuli which are found to contain Roman urns and funeral relics are considered to have been constructed over the remains of British chieftains engaged in the Roman service. Those tumuli which

the country was subdued, so the fortifications progressed, either for a garrison or a frontier defence.

On the north of the town the twin hills of Sinodun, with the existing traces of a large camp and a deep and strong vallum around one of them, occupy an elevated position reaching down to the Thames, "hanging over the Tamese," as Leland says. Then across the river to the eastward is a long double line of artificial embankment, called the Dyke Hills, supposed to be an outwork of the fortifications on Sinodun, and which extend almost to Dorchester (the Roman station on the river Tame). These Dyke Hills consist of two banks, and run from the river Thames, or Isis, to the Tame stream, about three quarters of a mile in length, twenty yards asunder at bottom and forty at top, and the perpendicular height was probably not less than twenty feet. In connecting the two streams, an easy facility was given, as Camden suggests, for filling the dyke with water. In the river near Sinodun Hills, a British buckler was found in 1836, which is now in the British Museum. It is thus described in a letter to Sir Henry Ellis, in the *Archæological Journal** :—

"This buckler is of bronze or metal, measuring in diameter fourteen inches by thirteen. It is ornamented with two series of round bosses between raised concentric circles, having a large boss, or umbo, in the centre. All the bosses are punched in the metal excepting four, two of which form the rivets to the handle within, and two are the rivets to the metal extremities apparently of a strap, these four bosses being consequently movable. This interesting object was found in the month of October, 1836, on the lower margin of the pool of the Little Wittenham or Day's Lock upon the river Isis, about half a mile above the junction of that river with the Tame stream, midway between Little Wittenham Bridge and the weir connected with the lock, about one mile to the westward of Dorchester, in Oxfordshire, and one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards from the western end of an earthwork called Dyke Hills, and three quarters of a mile from the entrenchment upon Sinodun, or Little Wittenham Hill."

occur on eminences along and near the ancient trackways, probably served as exploratory mounts, beacons, or signal-posts, for which purpose alone many of them seem to have been thrown up."

* Vol. xxvii. p. 298.

It may be added that there has been a ford over the river within the memory of man, some two hundred yards from the spot in question; and that in the neighbourhood British and Roman coins, pottery, utensils, arms, and skeletons, have been frequently discovered.

Next, within half a mile of the town comes Benson, so famous in Saxon times, through which a Roman road is said to have passed; and then crossing the Portway, the Lower Icknield, and Grim's Dyke, we reach Berin's Hill in the parish of Ipsden, which bears unmistakable evidence of Roman military occupation, and is supposed to have been a Roman station for the reasons that have been explained. Onward to the south-west, on the other side of the river, the lofty range of downs encompasses the town; and the earthworks at Unhill, the high conical hills of Lowborough and Blewburton, both bearing traces of strong fortifications, besides numerous tumuli, arrest the attention. The camp on Lowborough Hill rises eight hundred and thirty feet above the level of the sea, and appears to command no less than twelve military entrenchments, most of which were doubtless occupied by the Romans. A thick stratum of oyster shells may be seen just below the surface. Not far distant is Hagborne Hill, a conspicuous eminence, where Roman antiquities have been found, and over which the Roman road before mentioned passes. A glance at the maps will show how perfect was the line of fortresses and outposts on the heights around the town, and they were so situated as to be capable of communication with each other by signal. We know, by the well-connected chain of forts along the southern part of the vale of the Severn, how partial the Romans were to this mode of defence against the attacks of the resolute and persevering tribe of the Silures,—and in the north the same system of fortification was adopted; and admitting that many of these entrenched hills were originally British, there can be little doubt that they were adopted, remodelled, and occupied by the Romans, and became, in fact, Roman works.

But the defensive works of the Romans were not confined in these parts to the immediate neighbourhood of Wallingford, a chain of earthworks and entrenchments, marking probably the frontier line, was continued westward, and may be observed from any commanding height so far as the eye

can reach. Cuckamsley (although the name sounds more like Saxon than Roman), Letcombe, Hardwell, Perborough, and Uffington seem to attest the importance the Romans attached to this unequalled military position.

Referring to Sinodun Hills, Leland says, "This place is wonderfully diked about, and standeth on a hill in Barkshire hanging over the Tamesi. Withyn it hath been sum toune, or as the common voice sayth, a castalle in the Britannes tyme, defaced by lykelywood by the Danes. And *numismata Romanorum* be there found when ploughing."

Camden states * that at Sinodun there "was certainly an ancient Roman camp. At the bottom of this hill at Bretwell" (now called Brightwell), "if not on the hill itself, was a castle taken by Henry II. a little before his peace with Stephen."

Hearne remarks, at the end of Roper's "Life of More," † "It is divided into two hills, the East or Castle Hill fortified by the Britons and Romans, and the foot surrounded by buildings, where coins are often found; and the West Hill, commonly called, from its distant appearance, the Welsh Harp, is supposed, from the human bones dug up in it, to have been a burial-place."

Messrs. Lysons ("Berks," p. 214) consider there can be little doubt that it was occupied by the Romans, though, perhaps, originally a British work.

As to the Dyke Hills, so called, they are considered to have been, as before observed, a Roman fortification, or some outwork of that on Sinodun Hill; but Leland calls them Danish; Hearne connects them with the Castle of Dorchester; while others ascribe them to the Mercians.

It may be doubted whether the camp on Sinodun Hill, large as it was, furnished permanent quarters both winter and summer for the troops. Its great height, the want of space on the top, the difficulty of getting water—for no trace of any well has been found—and the vallum around, which shows that the surface of the hill has not undergone any material change, all tend to favour the opinion that it was a strong and important outwork, occupied by infantry and not by cavalry, and used more as a summer than as a winter camp. The main body of the Roman army was probably garrisoned below, as suggested, not without reasonable ground, at or

* Vol. ii. p. 214.

† Page 258.

near Wallingford ; but that Sinodun formed a link of great consequence in the cordon appears clear.

I am indebted to the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck, M.A., for the following lines, which were carved on a beech tree on one of these hills, called "The Castle Hill;" the name of the author is unknown :—

"SYNODUN HILLS.

"As up the hill with labouring steps we tread,
Where the twin clumps their shelt'ring branches spread;
The summit gained at ease reclining stay,
And all around the widespread scene survey,
Point out each object, and instructive tell
The various changes that the land befall.
Where the low banks the country wide surround,
That ancient earthwork formed old Mercia's bound;
In misty distance see the barrow heave,
There lies forgotten lonely Cwichelm's [grave].
Around the hill the ruthless Dane intrenched,
And the fair plains with gory slaughter drenched;
While at our feet where stands that stately Tower,
In days gone by uprose the Roman power,
And yonder there where Thames' smooth waters guide,
In later days appear'd monastic pride;
Within that field where lies the grov'ling herd,
Huge walls were crouched, stone coffins disinterr'd.
Such is the course of time, the wreck which fate
And awful doom award the earthly great."

Then if we return, and penetrate the valley of the Thames further southward, we come to Shooter's Hill on the west of the river, about eight miles from Wallingford, between Basildon and Pangbourne, where many Roman coins, and skulls pronounced by competent authority to be Roman, have been found. On the formation of the Great Western Railway in 1836, a large tessellated Roman pavement, in very fair condition, was discovered. It was about eight or ten feet square, and disclosed the far-famed vari-coloured zigzag and gordian-knot pattern, so frequently adopted in the floor-cloths of the present day. But little care was taken of this valuable relic of Roman art when first discovered; piece by piece a considerable portion of it disappeared, under the potent influence of the current coin of the realm, by the hands of the ruthless navvies; a basketful of the tesserae fell to my lot, not as a

willing despoiler, although, perhaps, not an unwilling recipient, amidst the sort of scramble that prevailed.

In the interior of a skull, also found at Shooter's Hill, now in the author's possession, were found two small Roman coins (third brass), one of the reign of Constantius II., struck at Lyons R.L.G; the other unknown, but struck at the same period. Messrs. Franks and Poole, of the British Museum, carefully examined the coins, and kindly gave me this information.

Another proof that the town took its rise from the Romans is afforded by its rectangular form, to which we have before referred. It is well known that the Romans almost always on level ground formed their camps in a square, with a bank and ditch, facing as near as possible the four cardinal points, with two roads or streets crossing each other in the centre. Their fortifications were not always enclosed within a single rampart, but, according to the importance of the situation, were surrounded by two, three, and sometimes four distinct entrenchments. This description exactly corresponds with the present appearance of the town, with its surrounding entrenchment and inner brook, and two others following the like direction a little further on. The site of what may be said to be the camp (for the town extends beyond the inner entrenchment) is a perfect square, bounded by the river Thames on the east side, and on the other sides by the embankment and deep ditch or brook, which communicates with the river at its extremities on the north and south. These earthworks are to be seen at the present time on the north, the west, and part of the south, and may be traced throughout the entire line, although the ravages of time and the hand of the destroyer have been busy in some parts. Fencing in the ornamental residential grounds called "The Croft," and the public recreation ground called "The Kine Croft," on the north and west, the banks are prominent objects of interest, and as that portion of them which belongs to the Corporation of the borough has been lately much defaced, it may not be out of place to urge the members of that body and their successors, if this work shall so long survive, to exercise with vigilance their guardian powers, in the preservation of these interesting relics of the past.

It is remarkable, notwithstanding the lapse of time, that

the two main streets of which the town principally consists at this day, cross each other at right angles in the centre of what may be said to be the entrenched square—the one running north and south, being the present high-road between Reading and Oxford, and the other running east and west, and being the high-road through Henley to the metropolis. Both roads are perfectly straight through the town, with the exception of a slight deviation at one extremity, in the parish of St. Leonard, where probably at some remote period an act of trespass was committed, or some appropriation of a portion of the road had been legalized, as appears to have been the case more or less in other parts. Indeed, the plan of the town in the recently published ordnance map is suggestive of the idea that the whole space of ground from north to south, comprehending the streets now called St. Martin's Street, Fish Street, the Market-place, and St. Leonard's Square, and the intervening buildings, may formerly have been the site of the wide straight central street from the Roman Prætorium.

In order that a comparison may be drawn between the preceding description of the town and its entrenchments and ditches, and a reliable description of a Roman camp, we would refer the reader to the well-known work previously quoted, published by the order and at the expense of the Society of Antiquaries in 1793, entitled "Military Antiquities of the Romans in Britain," by William Roy, F.R.S., and F.S.A.

We are not to suppose that the Romans centred all their strength within their summer and winter camps. They had here their outworks, their dykes, and military posts, whereby the central camp was protected. Roman coins have been found in large numbers immediately around the town, and in the garden ground on the west in the direction towards Sinodun Hill. And we have only to look at the plates in the work which I have just quoted, to be assured that their occupation of districts around their camps by these means, often extended over a very considerable area, and stretched all along the frontier line in some cases. Neither can we class the entrenchments at Wallingford, which present even now so considerable a work, as the simple *castra* spoken of by Roy. It is probable they belonged to the class of fortifica-

tions called *Castra Stativa*, which were camps where armies lay for some time,* and that the adjoining heights and posts were occupied by troops both winter and summer, though in the latter season to a much greater extent than in the former.

Although the town contains about three hundred and seventy-five acres, and the castle precincts over thirty, the area within the entrenchment as it now appears comprises only one hundred and fourteen acres, thus giving a capacity for a large garrison. Taking General Roy's calculation of 148,900 superficial feet for every one thousand men, and assuming all the space available, there would have been room enough for not less than thirty-three thousand men. And this circumstance, coupled with the strength of the ramparts, and the facility of water supply and defence, and easy transit, rebuts the suggestion that the fortifications were temporary, or mere adjuncts to more extensive works in the neighbourhood, if any such existed.

The description Cæsar himself gives of a town or city in his time is not very explicit, but there is nothing in his laconic account to militate against the view that this was a British town before a Roman camp. He describes a town as a spot among thick woods, surrounded by a rampart and a ditch, and which offered a refuge from the sudden incursions of an enemy. Wallingford must have possessed all these elements of defence, with the important addition of an unlimited supply of water chiefly from what are now called the Moreton and Mackney streams, which extended many miles westward, and received the rainfall drainage of the Downs and a large extent of country. This stream was cut off from its direct passage to the river, and diverted so as to form the rectangular ditch which surrounds three parts of the town, the diversion occurring at about the centre of the square. At its junction with the ramparts it is at an altitude of fourteen or fifteen feet above the river level, and thus a natural means was presented of increasing the water defence to almost any extent, by flooding the low-lying lands, and possibly occasioning the "marshes" to which reference is made in the "*Commentaries*." The Rev. Charles

* "*Britannia Romana*," Pointer.

Pearson * remarks, "Mackney is called an island in a charter of the tenth century, but the boundaries given seem to show that it owed its name to the fens interposed between it and Wallingford."

One of the strongest pieces of evidence that can be adduced to prove that the Romans occupied this town is furnished by the discovery from time to time of Roman coins; the numbers that have been dug up in and about the town may be said to be almost countless. To use the language of a perfectly unprejudiced antiquary, Mr. E. C. Davey, of Wantage, F.G.S., "There is no place in all Berks so rich in Roman coins as Wallingford and its immediate surroundings. They have been found in thousands, and there is not an Emperor, or Empress, or a usurper, who is not represented by coins. No conclusion can be more reasonable than that the Romans occupied the site of Wallingford continuously for four hundred years." The discovery of Roman coins and urns and other Roman remains at this place, has been noticed in various works. Gough states in his edition of Camden, that a "manuscript note, then in his possession, in the handwriting of Mr. Gale" (the editor of Antoninus) "asserts that many coins of the elder Gordian, Postumus, Victorinus, and the Tetrici, were dug up in the town of Wallingford, in August, 1726, several of which he states he saw in the hands of Sir Thomas Frankland, and afterwards some of Vespasian and Gallienus." But it will suffice, without more particular enumeration, to give in detail a list of those Roman coins only which have been found in Wallingford and its immediate neighbourhood (excluding Dorchester) during the last eighteen years, and collected by Mr. W. R. Davies, of this town, an experienced numismatist, to whom my obligations are due, not only for the ready access he has given me to his valuable and interesting cabinets, and for the particulars which have enabled me to prepare the following list, but also for the uniform assistance he has rendered in helping me to test the antiquity of the town, by the numerous relics which have been found, and of which he is the fortunate possessor.

* "Historical Maps of England," etc., second edit., 1870.

*COINS found in and around WALLINGFORD within the last eighteen years,
and collected by MR. W. R. DAVIES.*

Name of Emperor, Usurper, etc.	Description of Coin.	Remarks.
Augustus	2nd brass.	Declared first Emperor 29 B.C.; died 14 A.D. The last specimen was found in 1875, in the allotment gardens.
Tiberius	2nd brass.	Emperor 14 A.D.; smothered by order of Caligula, 37 A.D.
Drusus, senior	1st brass.	Coins struck by Claudius; died 9 A.D.
Germanicus	2nd brass.	Poisoned 19 A.D.
Claudius	1st and 2nd brass.	Emperor 41; poisoned 54 A.D.
Nero	2nd and 3rd brass.	Emperor 54; killed himself 68 A.D.
Vespasian	1st and 2nd brass and silver denarii.	Emperor 69; died 79 A.D.; served in Britain under Claudius.
Titus	2nd brass.	Emperor 79 to 81 A.D.
Domitian	2nd and 3rd brass and denarii.	Emperor 81; assassinated 96 A.D.
Trajan	1st and 2nd brass and silver denarii.	Emperor 98 to 117 A.D.
Hadrian	1st and 2nd brass and silver denarii.	Emperor 117; died 138 A.D.
Sabina, his wife ...	1st and 2nd brass and denarii.	Killed herself 137 A.D.
Lucius Ælius Verus	2nd brass.	Adopted by Hadrian 135 or 136 A.D., with the name of Cæsar; died 138.
Antoninus Pius.....	1st and 2nd brass and silver denarii.	Emperor 138; died 161 A.D.
Faustina, his wife...	1st and 2nd brass and silver denarii.	Born 105; died 141 A.D.
Marcus Aurelius ...	2nd brass and denarii.	Emperor 161; died 180 A.D.
Faustina, junior, his wife	2nd brass.	Died 175 A.D.
Lucius Verus	2nd brass and denarii.	Associated in Empire with Marcus Aurelius in 161; poisoned 169 A.D.
Lucilla, his wife ...	Denarii.	Exiled 183 A.D.; put to death soon afterwards.
Commodus	1st and 2nd brass and silver denarii.	Associated in the government of the Empire with his father in 176; sole Emperor 180; strangled 192 A.D.
Crispina, his wife...	1st and 2nd brass and denarii.	Died young 183 A.D.
Septimius Severus	1st and 2nd brass and silver denarii.	Emperor 193; died at York 211 A.D.

Name of Emperor, Usurper, etc.	Description of Coin.	Remarks.
Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, commonly called Caracalla	2nd brass and denarii.	Emperor with his brother Geta 211; sole Emperor 212; assassinated 217 A.D.
Geta	2nd brass and denarii.	The two brothers attended their father Septimius Severus on his expedition into Britain in 205; they reigned together till 212 A.D., when Caracalla murdered Geta.
Heliogabalus.....	Silver denarii.	Emperor 218; murdered with his mother, 222 A.D.
Severus Alexander	2nd brass and silver denarii.	Emperor 222; murdered 235 A.D.
Julia Mamaea, his mother.	3rd brass and denarii.	Assassinated 235 A.D.
Maximinus	1st and 2nd brass and denarii.	Emperor 235; assassinated by his soldiers, with his son, in 238 A.D.
Maximus, his son ...	1st brass.	Obtained the name of Cæsar in 235; assassinated 238 A.D.
Gordianus Pius III.	1st and 2nd brass and denarii.	Emperor 238; assassinated 244 A.D.
Philippus, senior ...	2nd brass and denarii.	Emperor 244; killed 249 A.D.
Philippus II., filius	2nd brass and denarii.	Cæsar 244; killed 249 A.D.
Decius	1st and 2nd brass and denarii.	Emperor 249; drowned in a bog 251 A.D.
Trebonianus	Denarii.	Emperor 252, chosen by his legions; murdered by them 254 A.D.
Etruscilla, wife of Decius	2nd brass and denarii.	
Volusianus.....	1st brass and denarii.	Emperor 252; killed 254 A.D.
Valerianus.....	3rd brass and billon or base silver.	Emperor 254; taken prisoner and killed in 263 A.D. Found principally at Southstoke, some at Moulstord, and a few at Wallingford.
Postumus	1st and 3rd brass and billon.	Tyrant; proclaimed in Gaul 258; killed 267 A.D. Mostly found at Northstoke.
Gallienus	3rd brass and billon.	Emperor 263; assassinated 268 A.D. Many found at Southstoke.
Salomina, his wife	Billon, denarii size	
Victorinus	3rd brass.	Associated in the Empire of Gaul by Postumus, 265; killed 267 A.D.; tyrant. Found in great numbers, some at Cholsey.

Name of Emperor, Usurper, etc.	Description of Coin.	Remarks.
Marinus	3rd brass.	Tyrant; minted before he assumed the title of Emperor, in 267; killed three days after.
Tetricus, senior and junior	3rd brass.	Emperor in Gaul 267. The son retired from public life on the abdication of his father in 274 A.D. Found in large numbers, many together, some at Cholsey and near Astons.
Claudius Gothicus	3rd brass.	Emperor 268; died of the plague 270 A.D. Found in great numbers, some near Cholsey and Astons.
Quintillus	3rd brass.	Emperor 270; committed suicide eight days after.
Aurelianus.....	3rd brass.	Emperor 270; assassinated 275 A.D.
Tacitus	3rd brass.	Emperor 275; assassinated 276 A.D.
Florianus	3rd brass.	Emperor 276; killed same year. Frequently found at Dorchester.
Probus	3rd brass.	Emperor 276; massacred 282 A.D. Of the 47 found, 31 have different reverses.
Carus	3rd brass.	Emperor 282; killed by lightning 283 A.D.
Carinus	3rd brass.	Emperor 283; killed 284 A.D.
Numerianus	3rd brass.	Emperor 283; assassinated 284 A.D. Rare here; several found at Northstoke.
Carausius	3rd brass.	Emperor 287; assassinated 289 A.D.; usurper.
Constantius I. (Chlorus), father of Constantine the Great	2nd and 3rd brass.	Cæsar 292; Emperor 305; died 306 A.D.
Allectus.....	3rd brass. Struck in England.	Usurper; Emperor 293; killed 296 A.D. Several in immediate neighbourhood; found particularly on west side of town.
Galerius Maximinus	2nd brass.	Cæsar 292; died 311 A.D.
Maxentius	2nd brass.	Proclaimed Emperor 306; drowned in the Tiber 312 A.D.
Licinius, senior.....	3rd brass.	Emperor 307; strangled 323 or 324 A.D.
Licinius, junior.....	2nd brass.	Cæsar 317; put to death 326 A.D.
Maximinus.....	2nd brass.	Proclaimed himself Emperor 308 A.D. Strangled himself 310.

Name of Emperor, Usurper, etc.	Description of Coin.	Remarks.
Constantine the Great	2nd and 3rd brass.	Sole Emperor 323; died 337 A.D. Many also found at Dorchester.
Crispus	3rd brass.	Named Cæsar 317 A.D.; put to death by order of his father 326. Many found at Dorchester.
Constantinus, junior	3rd brass.	Emperor 337; defeated and killed 340 A.D. Many found at Dorchester; few at Wallingford.
Constans	3rd brass.	Emperor of the East 346; assassinated 350 A.D. Numerous at Dorchester; few at Wallingford.
Constantius II.	2nd and 3rd brass.	Cæsar 323; sole Emperor 350 A.D.
Magnentius	2nd and 3rd brass; 2nd with Christian emblems.	Emperor 350; killed himself 353 A.D. About six found at Wallingford.
Decentius	2nd and 3rd brass.	Named Cæsar 351; strangled himself 353 A.D. Few found.
Valentinianus I. ...	3rd brass and denarii.	Emperor 364; died 375 A.D. Few.
Flavius Valens	2nd and 3rd brass.	Joint Emperor 364; burnt alive 378 A.D. Numerous at Dorchester; few at Wallingford. A rare silver medallion of Valens, size 8, in fine condition, has lately been found close to the town.
GratianusTheodosius	2nd brass and denarii.	Emperor 375; killed 389 A.D. Few.
Arcadius Honorius	3rd brass and silver denarii.	Emperor of the West in 395; died 423 A.D. Few.

What stronger evidence of a lengthened Roman occupation can be adduced than the foregoing list of coins, coupled with the discovery of so many other coins and Roman relics that are described in these pages? Here we have, with a few unimportant exceptions, every reign represented in an almost unbroken series of coins, from the time of the first Emperor Augustus, down to the time when the Roman government ceased to hold sway in this country. Add to the foregoing list the many coins in the hands of other persons, which have been discovered in the town, and those which we read of in history, and those still concealed, and we may well

imagine that the number left behind when the Romans quitted these parts was indeed countless. Had the evidence this discovery affords been known to Horsley, Gale, and others, the ground would have been cut from under them, and their arguments would have had no support.

Of the coins enumerated several are rare and fine specimens. We will notice one or two of them. There is one of great rarity, of Lucius Septimius Severus, born in Africa, A.D. 146, which was found near St. Leonard's Church, in April, 1875. *Obverse*—Laureated head to right; legend: L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. V. *Reverse*—Two captives, seated on shields, between a trophy of arms, etc.; legend: PART. ARAB. PART. ADIAB — S + C — COS II. PP. This coin was struck to commemorate the successes of Severus, A.D. 195, when he crossed the Euphrates to chastise the Arabians, Parthians, and others.

Three or four coins in Mr. Davies' collection resemble, with the exception of the inscription, the coins described by Dr. Plot, who says, "One George Mand, of Chesterton, took me a piece of money there found (i.e. in a field where Allchester stood), bearing the picture and name of Constantius, who was second from Allectus; on the right side thereof was the inscription 'Constantius Augustus,' and on the other side the portraiture of a castle, the sun and stars in chief above, and some word by the side of the castle; in my judgment it was 'Gallitas.' It is the arms at this day of the castle of Wallingford."

Referring to this coin, Kennett says, "Most likely the inscription was 'Gall itas' for Gallena Civitas, the city of Wallingford. For nummery authors observe that a castle or walled city was the portraiture of a Roman colony or garrison, and what comes nearest to this stamp, there is a coin of Constantius bearing a castle, with a star and crescent, which is made to be the insignia of Byzantium." *

Wallingford does not appear to have furnished many specimens of ancient British or Saxon coins, judging from the discoveries during the last twelve or fourteen years. Mr. Davies has only met with fourteen or fifteen British and eighteen Saxon coins, found in and near the town within that period.

* Kennett, vol. i. pp. 16, 432.

It is known that the Roman soldiers were in the habit of burying their money before leaving their stations on an expedition, and when they deserted the island they hid a vast quantity of their treasure underground, therefore it is needless to say that in nearly all the acknowledged Roman stations and fortresses, a great quantity of Roman money has been found from time to time. Not that this occurrence owes its origin entirely to the accustomed habit of burying the treasure, but when we find coins deposited in a mass, we may look to this habit as the chief cause; and where we find them in large numbers, representing nearly every reign, that fact may be accepted as proof of a lengthened Roman occupation. Now, such coins have been found at Wallingford in every part of the town and its surroundings; several have been discovered mixed together in the same spot, while by far the greater number have been found singly on the turning up of the earth.

But proof of Roman occupation is not confined to the numismatic evidence that has been adduced. Bronze swords,* spear-heads, and other articles of Roman construction have been found, some of which will be now enumerated.

In 1868, a bronze sword, double-edged, and of the usual leaf-shaped type, was dredged up from the river on the south side of the bridge, and brought to me. It is distinguished by the peculiarity of being ribbed, and has been pronounced to be a sword of Roman manufacture or origin, and it resembles the specimens of that date figured in books of authority. The hilt is missing, but in two of the four rivet-holes by which it was attached, the brass rivets remain, and being only four-eighths of an inch in length, it is probable the hilt was made of the same material as the blade; the latter is eighteen inches and a half long.

Since the completion of the letterpress of this portion of the history Dr. Evans has published his work on "The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments of Great Britain

* Sir John Lubbock ("Prehistoric Times," pp. 17-21) appears to think that bronze swords belong to a period anterior to Roman times; Mr. Roach Smith, Mr. Wright, and others entertain quite a different opinion. The weapons here referred to possess the characteristic Roman type and shape, and although called bronze, they may have an admixture of lead, which, Sir John states, formed a large proportion of the bronze used by the Romans.

and Ireland," wherein are figured not only the relics which I had intended to illustrate in this page, but several others found at or near Wallingford. I must therefore refer the reader to the engravings in that interesting work, which appear in the following pages:—

	Page	Figure
Looped palstave	86, 87	73
" "	93	83
Chisel-like celt	75	55
Winged celt	76	57
" "	88	74
Socketed celt	109	111
" "	111	115
" "	128	150
" "	144	116
Chisel	168	193
Socketed knife	206	242
Razor	219	269
"	457	
Knife dagger	225	279
Leaf-shaped sword	284	346
Sword sheath	303	366
Spear heads	317	386
" "	320-22	392
Circular shield	343	428
Pins	322	458
"	368	453
"	470	

About twenty years ago, a Roman eagle, spear-heads, and other articles which were considered to be of Roman fabrication, were also found in the river, near the same spot where the sword just described was discovered. For a long time they were in the possession of the late Mr. John Joseph Allnatt, of Wallingford, and sent by him, as I have understood, to the Museum at Oxford; but I have failed to trace them there or elsewhere. My recollection is not sufficiently distinct to enable me to describe them with accuracy, but I am confirmed by Mr. John Hedges Marshall, of the same place, in my belief that no doubt was entertained as to the Roman origin of these relics, by the many archæologists who had an

opportunity of inspecting them, and that the military standard so rarely met with was certainly among the number.

Although probably belonging to a period long before the Romans, we may state that a bronze celt was found about the year 1840 in the Kine Croft, which is partly enclosed by the entrenchment before mentioned. It is now in the possession of Mr. Banister, of Dorchester, Oxon. The length is six inches and a quarter, and it is thus described in Phillips's "Geology of Oxford and the Valley of the Thames," ch. xviii. p. 479—"A bronze celt very perfectly cast, with curved sharp edge and lateral annulus."

Mr. Davey, referring in one of his interesting papers to four other bronze celts found on the Charlton Downs, says, "So far as I am aware, these are the first and only bronze celts found in Berkshire, on the north side of the great chalk range, with the single exception of one dug up in the Croft at Wallingford about thirty years ago, and described by Professor Phillips in his last great work." This statement, however, now requires qualification, as other bronze celts have since been found. In dredging the river here on the south of the bridge some years ago, two bronze celts, which agree with the above description except as to the length, as well as two bronze spear-heads, were discovered, and handed by Mr. John Drake, then the Surveyor of the Thames, to the Rev. James Charles Clutterbuck, who has kindly allowed me to take the drawings appearing herein, with other relics. Another bronze celt three inches and a half long, without the annulus, has been found at Crowmarsh Battle, on the Oxfordshire side of the river, near the town, and is now in the possession of Mr. William Newton; and another small bronze celt has been found at Halfpenny Lane before mentioned; and within the last five years a third bronze celt was discovered in the bed of the river at Caversham, near Reading. It was dug up in making the excavations for the new lock at that place, lately completed, and is now in the Museum of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House.

These celts belonged to the so-called bronze age of the archaeologists, and, according to Sir John Lubbock, in his "Prehistoric Times," * were "probably used as chisels, hoes, war-axes, and a variety of other purposes."

* Vol. ii. p. 25.

In forming a road in 1859 in the Castle grounds, was discovered, about two feet below the surface, and near the ruins of what is called the Queen's Tower, a Roman urn of rude workmanship, the handles only having a little ornamentation from impressed finger-marks. The urn was encased in a small arched recess constructed of thin red bricks, very heavy for their size, and tiles, and was filled with charcoal and small bones; embedded in this was the skull of what is supposed to have been a rabbit. If it be that of a hare, which some persons have considered, we may be told that the urn belongs to an earlier period, because, previously to the Roman conquest, the hare was an animal of augury* among the Britons, and never hunted, nor was it ever killed for the table; numbers were kept, probably for the purpose of divination, about the courts of the British chiefs.

Whitaker states that the rabbit was not an inhabitant of this island at the time of the occupation by the Romans. Unfortunately, the pick-axe, in the hands of a careless workman, did its accustomed work, and sadly broke this valuable and interesting relic.

In November, 1875, a circular urn of light-coloured brown ware, with a coating of red, about fourteen inches in diameter, was found at the back of the residence of Mr. C. A. Barrett, in the High Street, a foot or so below the surface, with a good deal of wood charcoal scattered about. The workmen were removing the earth in the stable, when they came upon what they called a pot, which they broke into so many pieces that it was past reparation. Some rough stones were over it, and it contained black earth very offensive to the smell. On subjecting a small portion of this earth to microscopic investigation, some minute pieces of bone were detected. The fragments of the rim bear the traces of slight ornament—a sort of diamond pattern, apparently worked by some instrument, and not by the nail, as was often the case. On either side of the urn was a perfect human skeleton, about the same distance under the surface, one of which is described to have been in a contracted, if not sitting, position. A small coin was discovered close to the urn, which crumbled at the touch, and was thrown away. Mention is made of this discovery, although it may be doubtful whether the urn was Roman; it belonged, probably, to an earlier period.

* Dion, p. 1006.

There were also found near the same spot fragments of pottery, apparently urns of a rude make, and entirely without ornament, and also a small wedge-like flint implement. But the presence of one such implement cannot be considered sufficient for assuming an identity of the pottery or the skeletons with any particular age; neither is there anything to prove that the supposed urns were sepulchral, although (judging from a portion of the rim of one of them) they appear to have been of a somewhat large size, varying from fourteen to sixteen or eighteen inches in diameter at the top.

About two years ago, a small plain urn, of hard-burnt clay of a brown colour, was dug up in the field on the north of Mr. Dodd's house at Rush Court, which is a mile distant from the town. It had ashes in it, and resembles the type of an ordinary plain Roman urn. To all appearance it had been worked in the lathe, as the indented marks around it are visible.

Gough observes,* "Gale is greatly mistaken when he states there are no remains of Roman antiquity at Wallingford. The outer work of the Castle is evidently Roman, and in some fragments of the wall at the entrance, the stones are laid herring-bone fashion, just as in the walls of Silchester. The outer extent is about three hundred by four hundred paces."

Whitaker also states, "In the ruined Castle is an evident fragment of the stationary wall of the Romans. It is immediately on the right-hand side of the entrance, as you advance from the bridge, and is about five yards and a half in height on the inner side, and about six on the outer; the breadth of the whole piece is about six yards within, and six yards and a half without, and the thickness is about two yards and a quarter."†


About sixty years ago, some subterranean vaults and passages were excavated in the Castle grounds, which then belonged to the late Dr. Blackstone, Fellow of All Souls' College, Oxford, and one of the learned professors of that university, the masonry of which was pronounced by him and others to be undoubtedly Roman.

* Gough's Camden, p. 225.

† See "*Iter Britanniarum*," edited by Rev. Thomas Reynolds, p. 468.

In the year 1859, I traced a subterranean passage, probably the one referred to. It runs from the bottom of the keep on the south side, in the valley, and takes an easterly direction, rather inclining southwards, towards the river. It is of large size, and solid masonry, sufficiently large for a man to walk along, being about four feet high by two feet wide. The entire passage was effectually cleaned out and repaired up to its junction with the ditch, at or near the extremity of the Castle precincts. Beyond this point the passage could not be traced.

About the year 1700, Thomas Renda, Esq., who then possessed the Castle, Manor and Honour of Wallingford, discovered on the north side of the keep, near the well spoken of by Camden as one of exceeding depth, and going in an eastward direction, a narrow passage between two walls, over which, apparently, there had been no covering. Mr. Skirmer remarks, "This passage has been supposed to pass under the Thames, and to come out on the opposite side of the river at a place called Dane Pits, in Crowmarsh Hill;" but Dr. Blackstone, who explored the passage in 1820, notes—

"It appears to have no outlet from the Castle, but terminates in a staircase at each end, leading up to the buildings of the Castle; but *under* it there is a narrower passage, leading from either staircase at the ends, . . . which appears like a dungeon—it is formed thus: —or prison. The walls of this are of Roman masonry.

J. B."

The well was formerly carried up much higher than at the present time, and supplied the citadel at the top of the keep, which is now greatly diminished in size, particularly on the north side. It is constructed of worked stone, and has a smooth facing. This also was cleared of its rubbish in 1859, and protected by having a covering put over it.

The excavations which have been made at the west side of the keep lead to the belief that the immense mass of earth of which it is composed rests, on the three sides lapped by the inner moat, upon a foundation of solid masonry of several feet in thickness; the layers of stone sloping upwards towards the outside, and some yards beyond the keep, as it now exists.

We may mention also that a layer of concrete is to be

found in the bottom of the moats or dykes which surrounded the Castle. This concrete formed the foundation for a thick stratum of lime, which served to keep the moats water-tight. Considering there are three moats of great extent, the formation of them, and the means adopted to make them water-tight, must have been a work of great labour and magnitude.

Reference is made to these subterranean passages in this chapter, because they have been pronounced to be Roman, but we are not prepared, owing to the difficulty of making a careful examination of the masonry, to offer any corroborative testimony of the opinion of Dr. Blackstone, that they belong to the Roman period. That they were connected with the keep, and afforded a means of communication with points at a distance, for the purpose of supplying stores, or of escape, or to meet other military requirements, cannot be doubted; but it is by no means clear that the keep itself dates back beyond the time of the Conqueror, to whom, according to the prevailing authority, these artificial structures owe their origin or erection. If it be so, an argument may be raised that these passages, which are clearly connected with the keep at Wallingford, were not in existence anterior to the time of its construction. But on the other hand, it must be observed that the Britons erected their barrows, or sepulchral mounds, in almost every part of the island. "From the remotest ages," says Wright, "it was customary to mark to future generations the last resting-place of the honoured dead, by raising mounds, more or less elevated, according to circumstances connected with the locality, or according to the power and influence of the deceased." Many of these mounds were of large dimensions, and we read in the same author's work of a tumulus (the Latin name for barrow) at St. Weonards, in Herefordshire, the summit of which formed a circular platform about seventy-six feet in diameter, and commanded a prospect around it "wonderfully extensive." This spot was usually resorted to as the scene of village *fêtes*. Although there is no evidence to support the conjecture, the idea readily presents itself that the keep at Wallingford may have been built on a British barrow. I do not know that the Romans were more likely to pay respect to these monuments of the dead, when from their vastness and commanding height they could be so easily utilized for

military purposes, than, in more peaceful and refined times, were the villagers, who seem pretty generally to have made an appropriation of them, when within reach, for a purpose much more irreverent. But our object in this chapter is to mention, in addition to the coins, a few other of the Roman relics that have been found, and a description of the keep and its surroundings more properly belongs to a subsequent page.

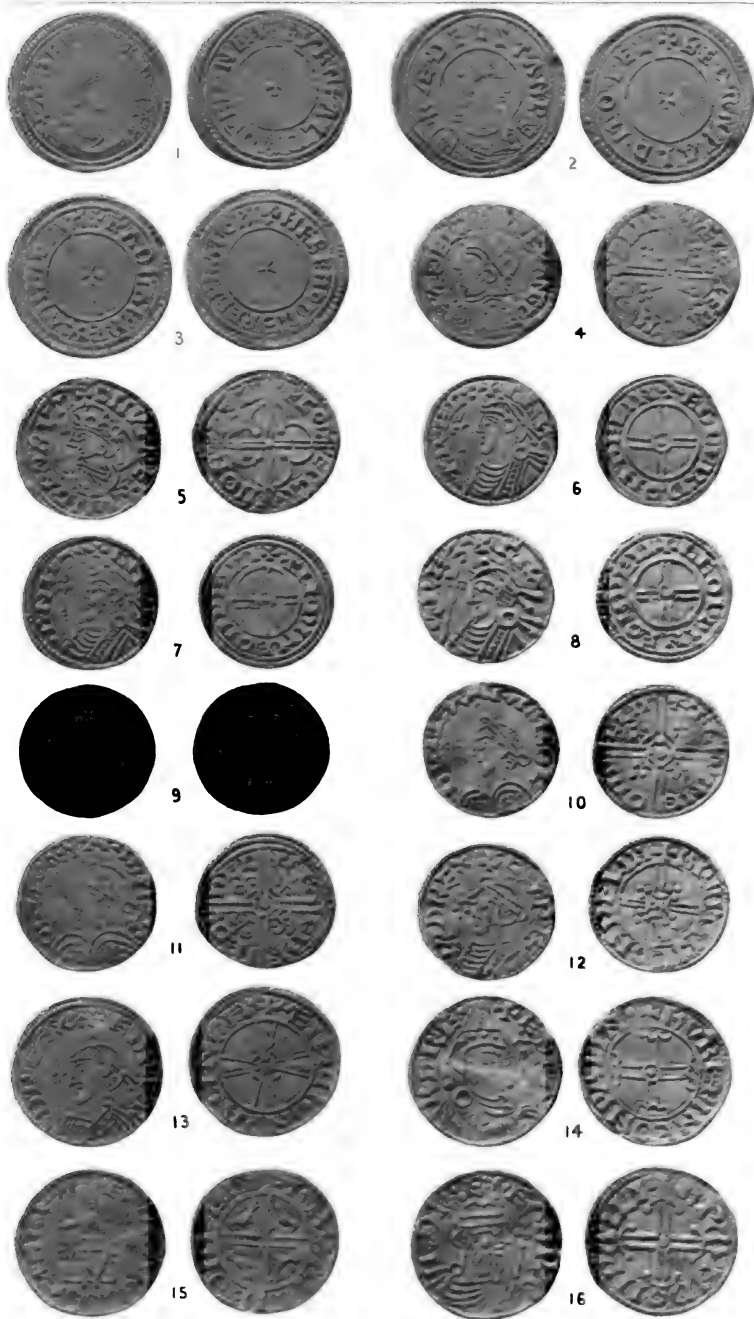
Further evidence of Roman connection is afforded by the direct pointing to the town on the east, north, and west of the ancient roads before described, and the short intervening space in which, in three instances, the continuous line has been lost. This fact, when coupled with the other circumstances, leaves no room for doubt that if these roads did not intersect the town—and who can say what were its limits in ancient times?—they must have gone very near its confines. The absence of all trace of the roads in its immediate vicinity, which has been urged by some as a reason for considering Wallingford non-Roman, is the natural and certain consequence of the high state of cultivation to which this rich corn-growing district has been subjected for ages past. In the valley around, every yard of available land has been brought into cultivation—even the Dyke Hills at Dorchester have not altogether escaped; and it would indeed be strange if the plough had not long ago obliterated, close to the town, all trace of the connecting portions of the roads, which must have so materially interfered with profitable husbandry. So famed is this district for the quality of its barley, that buyers from distant counties regularly attend the market in certain seasons, and the produce is sent, among other places, to Burton-on-Trent, Birmingham, Preston, Stroud, Bristol, and London.

But as soon as we leave the rich arable, and reach the down land, fit only for sheep pasturage, or get on the poor soil, then we begin to trace these ancient ways; and it is obvious that their preservation is due to the untilled condition of the down, or as is the case in the parish of Nuffield, and, I think, of Benson, where the roads have been continued as public highways. Moreover, there is a like absence of any trace of Roman roads in the vicinity of other towns undoubtedly Roman, and this shows what time and cultivation have done; for it is a fact not disputed that the Romans

constructed a complete network of roads in all parts of the island—in fact, it is said the roads were “innumerable, many of them wide, and all of excellent construction, which formed a communication between a multitude of flourishing cities and towns, and that they were constructed and regulated at an enormous expense.”*

With so many facts before us to lead to a right conclusion, it is almost needless to quote opinions. Were it otherwise, a long list of many of our most learned antiquaries and topographers, as indeed we have already shown in the first chapter, could be given, who, if they have not gone so far as to declare in favour of the Calleva-Wallingford theory, have pronounced the town to be undoubtedly Roman. They all echo, in substance, the opinion of the great Camden, that “the town was begun by the Romans, and afterwards destroyed by the Saxons and Danes, when Suene ravaged the country hereabouts,” or of the learned Bishop Kennett, who speaks with great decision, “It was certainly a place of great figure and resort while the Roman arms prevailed.”

* Wright, pp. 145-223.



ANGLO
SAXON
SEAL



OBV.



REV



SEAL OF THE MONASTERY OF WALLINGFORD

CHAPTER VI.

SAXONS AND DANES.

FOR nearly four hundred years the Roman government held sway in this country ; but before the end of that period, signs were not wanting of an approaching dissolution. Soon after the accession of Jovianus, A.D. 363, the island was fearfully harassed by the joint attacks of the Picts and Scots from the north, and the Saxons from the sea. This condition of things appears to have continued till the beginning of the fifth century, when the country threw off all subjection to Rome. Lawlessness and disorder followed the withdrawal of Roman rule, and the country was reduced to a state of perfect helplessness. On two occasions the aid of Rome was obtained, and the aggressors defeated with terrible slaughter. No sooner was this temporary protection withdrawn, than the Picts and Scots reappeared, and obtained the mastery over the powerless Britons, who then secured the assistance of the heathen Saxons from the continent of Europe, under the advice of their King Vortigern. The Saxon Chronicle gives the year 449 as that in which they landed in Britain in great force as the protectors of the island ; but Camden gives an earlier date, and in an edition of Bede the year 409 is stated. At first the Saxons assumed a ready friendship for the distressed Britons, whom they afterwards treacherously deserted, and, having allied themselves to the Scots, ultimately established their own power throughout the land, upon the ruins of Roman civilization.

Still, a long period intervened before the dispersion of the Britons was effected, and during that period many sanguinary wars took place ; but history, particularly during the first half of the fifth century, does not enable us, so far as I can

discover, to connect the belligerents with any place in this neighbourhood by name, till the year 571. Gildas, Nennius, and Bede are the principal ancient historians to whom we must look; but their narratives are vague, and it is in the Saxon Chronicle, which was composed ages afterwards, that more detailed though brief accounts of the wars between the Saxons and the Britons appear. There are those, however, who go so far as to intimate that some of these accounts, founded on Anglo-Saxon traditions, are partly romance. Chiefly from these sources we learn that the Saxons arrived in this country from three tribes in Germany, namely, from the Old Saxons, from the Angles, and from the Jutes.

The year 519 is given as that in which the kingdom of the West Saxons, comprehending soon afterwards, if not then, the counties of Hants, Dorset, Wilts, Berks, and the Isle of Wight, was established. Dr. Henry remarks that it took forty years and a long and bloody struggle to subdue these counties.

Long after its establishment, the Britons succeeded in resisting the encroaching Saxons in the midland counties, on the Oxfordshire side of the river Thames; but for five years following the year 551, they sustained several defeats.

In 556, the Britons, uniting all their strength, fought * with great valour against King Cynric, and Ceawlin his son, at Banbury, in Oxfordshire. Success attended the Brito-Welsh, who kept their fortified places in these parts till the year 571, when the neighbouring Bensington and other adjacent places were gained by the Saxons under Cuthwulf. Dr. Freeman observes, "Wallingford must have been taken in this expedition, when Cuthwulf crossed the Thames." † Referring to the capture, he says, "As the name of the earlier conquerors still lives in the neighbourhood of Englefield, so the Ford of the Sons of the Welsh proclaims itself as a spot which placed a check on their path, and whose capture must have been marked as a bright day in the annals of West Saxon victory."

No express mention is made of Wallingford till the time of the Danes, nor of Bensington till the above year. These opinions, may, therefore, to a great extent be based on conjecture. It is natural to suppose that the boundary line of Wessex, as constituted at the earlier date, was the river Thames, and if so, Wallingford and its county of Berks would

* Saxon Chronicle.

† Vol. iii. p. 542.

have been already in the hands of the invaders. It may be, however, that the place was taken and retaken. Fortified towns on a frontier river must necessarily be open to attack; and we find some six years after the victory at Bensington, that many encounters took place, that towns (not named) were taken, and that the Saxons were obliged to retire. And prior to that period, the Angles are stated to have extended themselves through the heart of England, and trenched upon the West Saxons on the south, taking the name of Myrce, which has been Latinized into Mercians. The capture, therefore, referred to, may possibly have been by the Mercians.

The following is the extract from the Saxon Chronicle:—
“Ann. DLXXI. In this year Cuthwulf (Cutha) fought against the Brito-Welsh at Bedcanforda (Bedford) and took four towns; Lygeanbirg (Lenbury?) and Ægelesbirg (Aylesbury), Bænesington (Benson) and Egonesham (Ensham); and the same year he died. Cutha was Ceawlin’s brother.”

This extract means, no doubt, that, by defeating the Britons, the Saxons made themselves masters of a wide tract of land in the counties in which these places were situated, namely, Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, and Oxfordshire; and it rather follows that the extension of territory was directed to the acquisition of the district bordering on their own possessions on the north of the river, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire being the two counties divided from the West Saxon kingdom by the Thames.

Bensington, by its Saxon name, is called a city in the Chronicle, and by Marianus and Camden a royal vill. The name implies a fortified place, and it was considered one of the strongest garrisons of the Britons.*

According to Gough’s Camden, it was held by the West Saxons for two hundred years from the time it was taken, but this is disputed by Kemble, who agrees with Dr. Plot, that the town, lying near the frontiers, must have often changed its masters in the contest between the West Saxons and the Mercians.

By the defeat of the Britons in 571, and the loss of their strongest garrison, the Oxfordshire district now became for the most part subjected to the kings of the West Saxons, who had subdued all this western part of the island. We may

* Kennett, vol. ii. p. 9.

suppose that Wallingford, with its surrounding downs, formed no unimportant part of their kingdom.

About six years afterwards, A.D. 577, the victory at Deorham (Derham), in Gloucestershire, added to the territory of the Saxons. Gloucester, Cirencester, and Bath were taken by Cuthwine and his brother Ceawlin, and three British kings were slain. Having secured the rich country that lay along the Avon and the Severn, the West Saxons again penetrated the valley of the Thames, in their advance along the river, upon London, and if they did not enlarge, they probably confirmed their conquests in these parts. Wallingford lay in the way, but it was a stronghold, probably then in their hands. The next action of note in these parts was at Bampton, where the Britons, in the year 614, had two thousand of their number slain in battle with King Cynegils. Better success attended their subsequent conflicts in this part of the country, till in the year 633, at Hatfield, they lost a large portion of their possessions, and Mercia was extended, and an attempt made to consolidate it into a kingdom, under the rule of King Penda. Then arose the same difficulty in defending the borders from the West Saxons as the Britons had experienced before. No decisive victory took place, and at length a league was made between them. During the peace, Oswald, the new king, was zealous in his efforts to plant Christianity in the land, and a bishopric was established at Dorchester with his assent. This brings us to the formerly great and royal city, now a village with about nine hundred inhabitants, but still rendered famous by its grand old abbey church. So identified was this Roman station with Wallingford, that it naturally falls within the scope of this history.

It was in the year 634 that Birinus was sent hither as a missionary by Honorius the pope. He converted most of the West Saxon people, including their king, Cynegils, whom he baptized at Dorchester, "Oswald, the saintly King of Northumbria, being present, and receiving him fresh from the regenerating waters as his adopted son." This city the new Christian prince gave to Birinus for an episcopal see, in which he settled, and exercised his jurisdiction through the whole West Saxon kingdom. Residing at his episcopal seat, he spread Christianity in all adjacent parts; where, as Bede relates, many churches were built and dedicated by him.

Peace, however, was not of very long duration. Heathendom fought desperately for life under Penda, "whose long reign, in fact, was one continuous battle with the cross," says Green. In 642, Oswald marched to deliver East Anglia from Penda, and was overthrown and slain, and for a few years Penda stood supreme in Britain. In 644, he drove Cenwalh, who had succeeded in the government of the West Saxons, out of his kingdom, and he carried his ravages over these and other parts; but, in spite of his victories, Christianity revived everywhere; Wessex quietly became Christian again, and Penda's son, Wulfhere, received Christian baptism.* After the father's fall, in 654, he was chosen King of Mercia.

After Berinus had enjoyed his bishopric fourteen years, he died at Dorchester, and was buried there in 648 or 650; but afterwards his body was translated to Winchester, where the king had instituted a new see.

The Chronicle records that, in the year 661, Wulfhere committed ravages as far as *Æscedune*, and afterwards on the Isle of Wight, which must have brought him to or near this town.

In 672 A.D., King Cenwalh died, and left his West Saxon kingdom among several petty princes, of whom Cuthred, his brother's son, governed on the north side of the Thames, and Hedda, a monk of Streneshall, now Whitby, succeeded to the see of Dorchester, A.D. 676, and again removed it to Winchester, "owing to the distress of the times." In 680 or 683, the ecclesiastical state of the kingdom was remodelled, and the see of Dorchester, which from the time of Birinus belonged to the West Saxons, pertained from that time to the Mercians.

In 716, under the reign of Ethelbald, began Mercia's fiercest struggle for the complete supremacy of the south. The king penetrated into the very heart of the West Saxon kingdom, and so extended his territory that he styled himself King of Britain, a title not before known. His intolerable exactions led to a revolt, and Wessex again strove for the ascendancy. Wallingford, situated on the old boundary line, and the adjacent country could not have escaped the results of the conflict.

In 752, the Oxfordshire town of Burford was the scene

* Saxon Chronicle, p. 23; Bede, "Eccles. Hist.," iii. ch. 7.

of a desperate battle. At the head of his own Mercian army, and of the subject hosts of Kent, Essex, and East Anglia, Ethelbald marched to this place, where the West Saxons, under their king, Cuthred, were marshalled to give him battle. Hours of furious fighting ensued, victory was long depending, but at length Ethelbald, the Mercian, was forced to fly, and Cuthred, King of Wessex, recovered a great part of his lost dominions.* A second Mercian defeat in 755 confirmed the freedom of Wessex; but only for a time. Cuthred died in 754. Two years after, Offa, a young and valorous Mercian prince, after carrying his ravages into the heart of Wales, and making several successful attempts upon the kingdoms of Kent and Northumberland, resolved to recover the county of Oxford from the West Saxons, and enlarge his Mercian kingdom to its ancient limits, the banks of the Thames. In order to effect this, he brought an army, in 777, across the frontiers, near Fritwell, in Oxfordshire, and following probably the course of the old Roman Portway, marched as far as Bensington. This place King Offa now besieged, and Cynewulf, King of the West Saxons, coming up with a great army to its relief, was defeated in open battle, and obliged to fly beyond the Thames. King Offa took the town, and, it is said, in a passion for its long defence, dismantled the place; and thus he carried out his design, that the West Saxons should have nothing north or west of the Thames.

Dr. Plot mentions an angle of King Offa's palace (may it not have been Cynewulf's?) as having stood near the church of the conquered town. Green remarks that the king attempted no subjugation of the West Saxon country, but it appears by the Chronicle of the Monastery of Abingdon,† that Offa seized Wallingford (Uualingaford), and extended his own kingdom from that town to Ashbury, upon the Icknield Street. Dr. Henry, in his "Great Britain," on the other hand, confines the extension of dominion to the counties of Oxford and Gloucester. We cannot, therefore, with certainty determine what was the fate of Wallingford on this occasion.

The antagonism between the two greatest of the Anglo-Saxon princes seems to have suggested to the Britons an opportunity for reasserting their claims. They made incursions

* Saxon Chronicle, p. 42, ann. 752.

† Vol. ii. p. 206.

into both territories, which brought about a peace between the two chiefs, and a union of their arms against their common enemy. The Britons were unable to resist two such powerful adversaries, and were everywhere defeated.*

During the continued contests between the two kingdoms, it appears that the see of Dorchester had a long interruption in the succession of bishops. King Offa resettled the see, and the diocese in the year 794 extended † through the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Huntingdon, Cambridge, Northampton, and half of Hertfordshire. Berthun, at the instance of the king, was ordained the resident bishop, and on his death, in the year 785, Higebriht was elected to succeed him. King Offa died in 796, his son Egbert (who died within the year) succeeded, and then Cenwulf reigned till the year 819, when, on the death of the latter, Mercia was torn by a civil war. The old strife with Wessex was renewed by his successor, Kenelm, who, being slain in battle in 821, gave place to Ceolwulf, and next to Beornwulf. During the reign of the latter, these parts were again distracted by the contending armies, which penetrated into Wiltshire and Hampshire. The crushing defeat of Beornwulf at the bloody battle of Ellendune ‡ almost terminated the war. Soon afterwards Egbert, King of the West Saxons, received the submission of all England south of the Thames, and in 827 gained the kingdom of Mercia, including Oxfordshire.

Afterwards the Mercians, under Wiglaf, endeavoured to free themselves from subjection, but the exhausted kingdom failed, and yielded obedience to the West Saxons. A year afterwards, namely, 828, the victorious Egbert gave back to Wiglaf the conquered kingdom of Mercia, to hold as a deputed and tributary king, who, after thirteen years' retention, left it to Beohrtwulf, also a vassal of the West Saxon kings.§ In his reign these parts were infested by the Danes.

It may seem singular that, in recording the fierce and frequent encounters and conflicts that took place in this neighbourhood, Wallingford should be so seldom expressly mentioned; a border town, situated in the midst of the distracted country, must have had its share in the reverses and successes that attended the movements of the contending hosts; but

* Dr. Henry, vol. iii. p. 41.

† Matthew of Westminster

‡ Saxon Chronicle, ann. 823, tr. p. 53.

§ William of Malmesbury.

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the chief source of our information is the Saxon Chronicle, which is remarkable for the brevity with which it summarizes the events it records. And it may offer another suggestive reason for the want of more direct and frequent reference, to note the fact that the Saxons did not, as a rule, settle in or adopt the Roman cities. A gentle hill, crowned oftentimes with nothing more than a slight earthwork, formed the fortress of a people chiefly agricultural, and whose system of warfare was for the most part confined to the open country. Dr. Henry remarks,* "They neither took possession of the towns, nor did they give themselves the trouble to destroy them. When it suited their purpose to save the old Roman work, they used it for their own advantage; when it did not suit their views of convenience or policy to establish themselves on or near the old sites, they quietly left them to decay."

In the following pages, which treat of the Danish period, Wallingford occupies a more prominent position by direct reference.

The Danes.

Under this name, a bold and hardy race from Norway, Sweden, and Denmark embraced a seafaring life of piracy and war, and were seen hovering off the English coasts about the year 787.† At first their depredations were confined to the coasts, but soon extended inland, and their incursions became almost annual. Ultimately they took up winter quarters in England, and, increasing in numbers and hardihood, they attacked the two extremities of the West Saxon kingdom. In the spring of 851, strong reinforcements of their countrymen arrived in three hundred and fifty vessels; and, after plundering and burning the cities of Canterbury and London, the united forces marched into Oxfordshire, where Beorhtwulf, who governed Mercia under the title of king, and, it would seem, had his court at Bensington, met them with his army, was defeated, and forced to fly beyond sea, where he died. Upon this victory the Danes, after devastating the country, marched southward, and crossing the Thames, were encountered and defeated at Oakley, in Surrey, by Ethelwulf, King of the West Saxons;‡ after

* "Great Britain," vol. ii.

† Saxon Chronicle, p. 47.

‡ Ibid. p. 46.

which these parts were secured for a time from the incursions of the Danes, who turned their attention to and prepared for an invasion of East Anglia. They secured that kingdom, and divided the conquered province among their soldiers. Then, says Green, "the Northmen (Danes) turned to the richer spoil of the great abbeys of the Fen. Peterborough, Crowland, Ely went up in flames, and their monks fled or were slain among the ruins. Mercia, though it was still spared from actual conflict, crouched in terror before the Danes, acknowledged them in 870 as its overlords, and paid them tribute." Wessex remained unsubdued, and the invaders, designing an attack on that kingdom, pushed up the Thames to Reading. Three nights after they made for Englefeld, where the Alderman (Ealdorman), Ethelwulf of Berkshire, with some forces he had raised, fell upon the enemy, and totally routed them, slaying one of their leaders, who was called Sidroc.* According to some authorities, the Danes were led out under the generals Inggar and Hubba, for the purpose of plunder, but the Saxon Chronicle gives to the encounter more of the features of a set battle.

Three days afterwards,† King Ethelred, with his brother Alfred and a great host, arrived at Reading, and gave battle to the army of the Danes, "on their own soil."‡ From these words we must conclude that the Northmen had previously gained possession of the town, probably in an attack on the Saxons on their first approach. Great numbers fell on both sides, and among them the brave caldorman; but the Danes gained the victory, and "held possession of the battle-place." Their opponents retreated westward to the Downs.

Green confines the battle-fields to the tongue of land between the Kennet and the Thames. Man, in his "History of Reading," states, "The principal action, and that which for a time decided the fate of Reading, is said to have been fought at a place called Merantun. There is a difficulty in ascertaining the derivation of the Latin appellatives. It might possibly be Moreton, in this county, which lies near Wallingford, about fourteen miles north from Reading, from whence the hundred receives its name, and is in the neighbourhood of Aston, where one of these contests is acknowledged to have

* Saxon Chronicle, 871 A.D.

† Henry of Huntingdon.

‡ Saxon Chronicle.

taken place. If a conjecture might be hazarded, I rather," continues Man, "incline to fix it at Mortimer, part of which is in this county, and not more than seven or eight miles from the scene of action."

For "Merantun," in the above quotation from Man, other manuscripts of the Chronicle read "Meretune" and "Meredune," but the fight at this place is stated to have occurred two months and more after the battle of Reading.

Four days after this defeat, the great battle of Ashdown took place, a battle memorable beyond all others, in which Alfred, who was then only twenty-three years of age, so greatly distinguished himself. The following account is from Asser, who wrote in the ninth century:—

"The pagans, flushed with success, came with a numerous army to Ashdown, under the command of two kings and several earls. King Ethelred and his brother had rallied their troops, and came with an intention to meet them, and to make it a decisive battle. The pagans divided their army into two bodies, the two kings having the command of one, the earls of the other, which made it necessary for the Saxons to divide themselves in the same manner. Whilst King Ethelred was busied at his devotions in his tent, and declared that he would not quit the service of God for any worldly duty whatsoever, Alfred found it necessary to begin the engagement or to retire. He could not easily brook the latter; therefore, as had been before agreed, he led on the Christian forces, though the king was not come up." After mentioning how the pagans had got the higher ground, and that the whole account had been given to him by faithful eye-witnesses, Asser proceeds, "After a bloody and obstinate dispute, one king and five earls were killed on the pagan side, with many thousands of common men, and the rest were dispersed all over the wide plain of Ashdown, and pursued all that night and the next day, as far as to their castle at Reading."

The chiefs referred to as having been slain in this great battle were King Bagsecg, who commanded one division, and Earls Sidroc the elder and the younger, Earl Osbern, Earl Frena, and Earl Harold.

The accounts given by different authors of this victory, although in the main features they agree, show a little variation. Whilst Lappenberg and others ascribe to Alfred the

successful issue, William of Malmesbury and the Brompton Chronicle assert that he engaged too hastily with the troops under his command, and was near upon retreating, when the king, coming up with his fresh forces, supported him so well, that together they soon put the pagans to flight.

But the point that has been the subject of so much discussion is the question whether the victory was gained on the Downs above Aston, which lies about four miles south-west from Wallingford, or at some other spot. The name of the place was called Escesdune, Æscendune, Æcesdune, Ashesdown, Ashendown, or Ashdown. Talbot takes the site to Ashdown Forest, in Sussex; Kennett is inclined to place it at Ascendon, in Buckinghamshire, the name of the hundred; Bishop Gibson* and Hume place it at Aston, near Wallingford; others take it further westward to Ashdown Park, Lord Craven's seat, near Ashbury, beyond Uffington Castle; whilst Freeman, in his fifth volume lately published, in explanation of what he had previously written,† states, "Æcesdūn is not the modern Ashdown Park, but the whole ridge, and the battle was fought at the other end towards Reading." Mr. James Parker, of Oxford, it is believed, shares the same opinion. The site mentioned in Sussex, like that in Buckinghamshire, appears to be suggested by the similarity of name; not so as respects the Berkshire Down, which is identified by several neighbouring places, expressly named in the Saxon Chronicle and other authorities, such as Reading, Englefield, Wallingford, and Cholsey.

There are two popular traditions which are current at the present day: one is that the devotions of Ethelred took place in Aston Upthorpe Church, or, as it is more commonly called, Thrupp Church, and that even the danger of a total defeat could not move the "pious king" to march to the assistance of his brother till his prayers were finished. The other tradition is that Alfred pitched his tent on that commanding spot on the Aston Down, now and for ages past known as "King's Standing Hill." No spot on the Downs could have been selected more likely to answer the requirements of an army seeking a strong and defensive position; nor is it to be supposed that the Saxons, unpursued, would have abandoned to the enemy, stationed at Reading, so long and important a

* "Index Loco. ad Chron. Saxon," p. 81.

† Vol. i. p. 360.

tract of their country as that which extended to Ashdown Park; or that the interval of four days would have been sufficient to enable them to march a distance of not less than twenty-eight miles, recruit their shattered army, and fight the desperate battle in which so many thousands were slain. The names of the different adjacent localities have also an important bearing. There are Dane's Pit, in which a Danish sword, now or lately in the possession of Mr. Percy Smith, of Abingdon, was found some few years ago, together with two others, which I have not been able to trace. Then Danispare (Dane's Spare), and onward nearer Ilsley, there are places named Ash, Ashridge Bottom, and Ashclose; and many tumuli all along the Downs meet the eye. But more decisive evidence in favour of the Aston site appears in the Saxon Chronicle, under date 1006, wherein it is stated that the Danes went from Reading to Wallingford, and burned it all down, and were then one night at Cholsey, and then went along *Æcesdune* to *Cwicelmes Hlæwe* (Cuckamsley Hill),* and there tarried, etc.† This extract shows pretty clearly that *Æcesdune* (Ashdown) lay intermediate between Cholsey and Wallingford (adjoining places) and *Cwicelmes Hlæwe*; and assuming that the latter means Cuckamsley, about which there can be little or no doubt, the Aston hilly down answers exactly to the description, as it lies in the direct line; whereas the description in no way agrees with the position of Ashdown Park, which lies at least thirteen miles from Cuckamsley in a west-south-west direction.

Another important link of evidence is presented by a charter dated about eighty years after the battle, namely, A.D. 955, whereby King Eadred granted to Elfbed, "Eight hides of land at Cumtune, near the hill called *Escesdune*." It cannot be doubted that Cumtune refers to the modern Compton, which lies about three miles from the village of Aston, and four from Cuckamsley Hill; so that, having thus narrowed the question of locality, we can point with something like certainty to the battle-field, as having been on the hilly down between that village and Compton.

* Saxon Chronicle, p. 113.

† I take it the identity of the *Æcesdune* here mentioned with the *Æcesdune* in an earlier page of the Chronicle, under date 871, cannot well be doubted.

Dr. Wise, in a letter to Dr. Mead, published in 1738, states his belief that Cwicelmes Hlæwe must be sought for elsewhere, at some greater distance from Wallingford, and rather supposes the name to mean some town in North Wiltshire or Gloucestershire, though he cannot guess where to fix it; and as to Aston, he is not aware that any remains have ever been found to lead to the persuasion that the battle was fought thereabouts, and he construes the name (written "Estone" in Domesday Book) as the East Town. The doctor also refers to some charters dated A.D. 840 and 947, in which certain places are called Aysshedoune and Aysshebury, which he identifies with Ashbury, about a mile distant from Ashdown Park, and there he looks for the field of battle.

Dr. Wise is mistaken, as already shown, in supposing that there are no remains near Aston which would lead to the inference that a battle was fought thereabouts. Apart from the discovery since his time of the Danish swords spoken of, the whole range of hill above Aston bears the traces of military movements; and as to the variance in the etymology between the names of Aston and Ashdown, which has been considered, not only by Dr. Wise but by other authors, as fatal to the Aston Down hypothesis, the question appears rather to be, whether there is such a difference between the two modern names as to render the one more likely than the other to be a corruption of the original *Æscesdun*, which has been pronounced in various ways. In either case the difference is too slight to furnish a reliable argument; but the modern Aston cannot be said to be an improbable contraction of the ancient *Æscesdun*.

The great difficulty in accepting Dr. Wise's arguments as proof that this particular battle took place at Ashbury is the distance from the Danish garrison at Reading, and the impossibility of reconciling the position of that place with the situation of *Escesdun* as described in the Saxon Chronicle and the charter above referred to. Doubtless the neighbourhood of Ashbury, with the Roman encampment called Uffington Castle, occupying the highest hill on the north-east, with the huge white horse sculptured in the chalk just beneath—a monument as many suppose, of Alfred's victory—and with the camp called King Alfred's Castle a mile or so distant, has much to connect it with the struggle between the Danes and

the Saxons. And it cannot well be doubted that at some time the more westerly district was the scene of fierce conflicts, for it is recorded that no less than nine pitched battles were fought during that year in the district south of the Thames, and, as we shall see hereafter, the Danes were in this part of the country when greater success attended their arms. But with the evidence before us, it is impossible to fix on Ashbury as the site of the great battle in question, which was the first after the defeat at Reading. Looking critically at the extracts which have been given, it may be said that the retreat of the Danes from the Aston Down to Reading would not have occupied a night and a day, and certainly at first sight it seems a long time for the Danes, whose marches were generally hasty, if not rapid, to be occupied in getting over some fifteen miles of country; but on the other hand, their army was dispersed "all over the wide plain of Ashdown," and doubtless its course was impeded by a great number of wounded soldiers, and the frequent encounters with the victorious Saxons, which were continued all the way to Reading. The Saxon Chronicle does not mention the time occupied in the pursuit, but it states the battle lasted till nightfall, and on this point Henry of Huntingdon and most other authorities agree, so that a large portion of the night must have elapsed before the retreat commenced.

In this fearful struggle, which renders memorable the year 871, Ethelred died of a wound which he had received in action, and left the inheritance to his brother Alfred, who was called to the throne in preference to the king's children. He had scarcely buried his brother when he was obliged to take the field, in order to oppose the Danes, who had seized Wilton, in Wiltshire, and were committing their usual ravages in the country around. Several battles were fought, and Alfred at first gained an advantage, but ultimately the superiority of the enemy's numbers prevailed. Of these battles, says John Brompton,* "the most sharp was at Abendon (Abingdon), Berks, by which the Saxons were so much weakened that they were glad to purchase peace with the Danes, and pay them to withdraw from these parts." The payment was the beginning of a regular tribute, or, as it is called, Danegeld, of a large amount.

* Chronicle, p. 810.

King Alfred had acquired Mercian territory of considerable extent, but he was unable to retain it or to check the Danish advance into his old dominions, which comprised the country south of the Thames. The Danes marched to Chippenham with fresh swarms of men from Denmark, who, we are told, spread over the country like locusts, and meeting with no effectual resistance, became masters of all this district, leaving the three counties of Hants, Wilts, and Somerset, the only portion of the West Saxon kingdom which may be said to have retained a band of followers ready to give battle at Alfred's call. The king, bereft of his territory, concealed himself in the woods; but there was yet a latent spirit of loyalty in his people, which only needed to be called into action to ensure the enemy's defeat. The preliminary movements of the great general, and the strategical means he resorted to for the purpose of making himself acquainted with the strength and position of the enemy, getting ready admission into the Danish king's tent by assuming the disguise of a fiddler, and the subsequent success of his strategy and arms, are matters of general history. In the result he gained (A.D. 878) a complete victory over the Danish king, who, with his forces, promised either to turn Christian or quit the country.

Several years of peace ensued under Alfred's reign, but in 894 the enemy returned, and our Thames valley was again their line of march. They soon, however, abandoned the enterprise.

In A.D. 897, a raging pestilence swept away many of the nobility and chief persons in the land, and among them Ealheard, Bishop of Dorchester, who died at his see.

Four years afterwards the death of King Alfred terminated a reign of twenty-eight years, and his son succeeded to the throne. He was opposed by his uncle's son, Ethelwald, who, in the first year of competition for the crown, was defeated, and obliged to escape beyond sea; but returning the next year, 903 or 905, with a numerous army into these parts, he ravaged the country as far as Cricklade, and frightened the city of Oxford into a surrender. There he crossed the Thames, and returned home in triumph another way, plundering as he went along. King Edward, having hastily collected his troops, followed in the rear, ravaging the Mercian territory

in his pursuit. He fell in with the enemy at the fens, and, according to some authorities,* gained a complete victory, although, from the account in the Saxon Chronicle,† this is not so clear. Soon afterwards Oxford and those cities which had rebelled against the king were reduced.

In 905, in a Council held in the province of the West Saxons, Kenulf was elected Bishop of Dorchester, and was consecrated at Canterbury with six other bishops.‡

From this date, till the year 911–912, this district appears to have been unmolested, when the Danes, breaking the truce they had entered into with the king, fell with great violence on that part of the Mercian kingdom which comprised Oxfordshire, and probably the neighbouring districts. They were repulsed and driven northward by the united forces of the West Saxons and the Mercians, but many towns and villages are thought to have been destroyed by the Danes. There is some confusion in the dates, as four different years are given, namely, 910, 911, 914, and 917, as the date of this repulse. The main point of attack in Oxfordshire appears to have been at Hook-Norton, in the north-eastern part of the county, where great slaughter was made. Kennett states that the military works still known by the name of Tadmarten Camp and Hook-Norton Barrow were cast up at this time; the former, large and round, is judged to be a fortification of the Danes, and the latter, being smaller and rather a quinquangle than a square, of the Saxons.

About this time it is supposed that the Saxons, in order to protect these parts from the Danes, who made frequent incursions, either formed or improved the partition bank and trench, part of which was called Avesdich, already described, between the Mercian and West Saxon kingdoms.

For some years the Danes confined their attacks chiefly to the north of the Thames. We read of the great desolation they committed in the county of Oxford, their frequent sallies, their repulses and retreats in that and in the adjoining county of Bucks, till at length they were so weakened and dispersed that they promised allegiance to King Edward, who thereupon settled the peace of this part of the country, which

* Matthew of Westminster, anno 902. † Saxon Chron., anno 904.

‡ Kennett, p. 52.

lasted till his own death at Faringdon, and the death of Ælfweard his son, at Oxford, immediately after, in the year 924-925.

Upon the death of Edward, Æthelstan, his eldest son, succeeded, and in 938 he held a Council at Dorchester, and gave a charter, subscribed by four tributary kings, two archbishops, and fourteen bishops, to the convent of Malmesbury, granting to them ten cassates of land, five of which are described to be in "Ewulm," which according to Mr. N. Hamilton is Ewelme,* near Wallingford. During his reign—which lasted till the year 940-41, when he died—he guarded this district from all disturbance by the Danes.

In this reign coins were minted at Wallingford, bearing the moneyer's name, Beornwald. Ruding gives the reign of Edgar as that in which the earliest coin appropriated to the mint here was struck, but by the kindness of Mr. Stuart Poole, Keeper of Coins in the British Museum, I am enabled to carry back the coinage some thirty-five years earlier, and to prefix to this volume the interesting plates, which contain autotypes of the coins minted at Wallingford which are now in the cabinets of the Museum.

Æthelstan was succeeded by his brother Edmund, who subdued Mercia, and successfully opposed the Danes elsewhere, till his death in 946. Eadred was next in succession, but his scene of action lay on the other side of the Humber. Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, translated thither from the see of Dorchester, swore fealty to the king, with all the Northumbrian "Witan" (Councillors), but in a short time he belied both pledges and oaths; and was brought back a prisoner into his former diocese.†

In the year 954, his episcopal dignity was restored to him at the town of Dorchester.

In 956, Edgar was made king of Mercia, and from 957, upon the death of Edwy, had the dominion of all England. Coins were struck at the mint at Wallingford, which is called Welegafor,‡ in the peaceful reign of this king, which terminated on his death in 975. On his coins he styles himself "Rex Anglorum" and "Basileus." The reverses bear the name of the moneyer, and often, as at Wallingford, of the mint also.

* *Gesta Pontificum*, 365. † *Saxon Chron.*, p. 90; Kennett, vol. i. p. 58.

‡ Ruding (edit. 1819), vol. i. p. 362.

Four years before the death of the king, Oskytel, another Bishop of Dorchester, was translated from that see to the Archbishopric of York.

John de Wallingford,* referring to the lower classes of life about the time of King Edgar, remarks, "It is curious to observe that it was deemed a mark of censurable luxury that the Danes, who were kept in pay by Æthelstan and Edgar, combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, and changed their clothes frequently."

Edward, son of Edgar, better known by the title of "The Martyr," succeeded, and in 978-9 was assassinated by his step-mother, Ælfryth, at Corfe Castle, in Hampshire; but her design of seizing the reins of government was frustrated by the genius of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelred II. was consecrated King of England. Several of his coins, minted at Wallingford, are extant, the reverse presenting the name "Weling," "Welin," for that place. The late Sir Henry Ellis, in a letter dated in 1843, addressed to Dr. Allnatt, who has kindly allowed me to take extracts, thus writes: "We have one coin of Æthelred II. in the Museum, struck at Wallingford. The *obverse* has the king's head, helmeted, to the left, the same as Ruding's Plate 22, Fig. 1, circumscribed ÆDELRED REX ANGL. *Reverse*—A large cross placed on a small lozenge, the latter having three globules at each angle; the inscription: ÆLFPERD . MO . PELIG."

Previously to this reign the Danish arms had been for the most part confined to the country north of the Thames. Now they were turned to Wessex, and battles are recorded in several counties in the west, the Danes devastating the land, and marking their progress with fire and sword, till the year 1002, when the "king and his Witan resolved that tribute should be paid to the [Danish] fleet, and peace made with them on condition that they should cease from their evil."† A tribute of twenty-four thousand pounds was paid, but the king, suspecting that the Danes would plot against his life, commanded all of them who were in England to be slain, and a general massacre took place, with great violence, especially at Oxford and in that county.

* "Chronica Joannis Wallingford, Abbatis S. Albani" (A.D. 1195), p. 547.

† Saxon Chronicle, p. 111.

The Witan here spoken of was a great deliberative assembly, at which legislation on matters of national policy took place, and judicial business within the district was transacted. The custom * was to meet in fair weather in the open air, and the spot often selected was our neighbouring Cuckamsley Hill (more commonly called Knob), the situation of which has enabled us to mark, with some degree of certainty, the famous battle-field of Ashdown. This great assembly was also resorted to as a court of appeal for the settlement of litigation which transcended the powers of the ordinary tribunals, as appears by the following record in the time of Ethelred (A.D. 990-995), which refers to lands at Hagbourne, Bradfield, and Datchet, in this neighbourhood. The litigants were of the highest rank, and having refused the king's arbitration, a writ or insegel was issued, for the final adjudication of the dispute by the Witan at the hill of Cuckamsley:—

"This writing showeth how Wynflæd led her witness at Wulfamere before King Æthelred; now that was Sigiric the archbishop, and Ordbyrht the bishop, and Ælfric the ealdorman, and Ælfthryth the king's mother; and they all bore witness that Ælfric gave Wynflæd the land at Hacceburnan (Hagbourne) and at Bradan-felda (Bradfield), in exchange for the land at Deccet (Datchet). Then at once the king sent, by the archbishop and them that bore witness with him, to Leofwine, and informed him of this. But he would consent to nothing, but that the matter should be brought before the shiremoot. And this was done. Then the king sent, by Ælvere the abbot, his insegel to the gemót at Cwicelmes Hlæwe, and greeted all the Witan who were there assembled, that is, Æthelsige the bishop, and Æscwig the bishop, and Ælfric the abbot, and all the shire, and bade them arbitrate between Leofwine and Wynflæd, as to them should seem most just." †

Although not in chronological order, it may be well to note, that in 993 Escwin, Bishop of Dorchester, gave to the church at Canterbury, and Elfric the archbishop, the manor of Risbergh, now Monks Risborough, in Buckinghamshire; and in the year 997, Ælfgifu, the queen, gave the two manors of Niwentune and Brutewelle, now Newington and Bright-

* Kemble, "Anglo-Saxons," p. 48. † "Codex Diplomaticus," No. 693.

well, in Oxfordshire, to the same church, "free from all secular service, except the threefold necessity (tax)."

This brings us to the year 1006, when Wallingford is first mentioned by name in the Saxon annals. In the year before a great and destructive famine raged throughout England, "such as no man ever before remembered;" and for a little time the enemy's fleet left this country, and went to Denmark, returning after midsummer to Sandwich, where, and during their progress inland, they carried on their accustomed work of plundering, burning, and slaying. The king commanded all the population of Wessex and of Mercia to be called out, but to no purpose; his large army lay all the autumn in readiness, but, says the Chronicle, "it came to naught more than it had often done before." The Danes evaded attack by taking to their ships, and then making descents in other quarters. Late in the autumn they stationed themselves in the Isle of Wight, and at midwinter their whole army overran Hampshire and Berkshire as far as Reading, "kindling their war-beacons as they went;" then the barbarous Northmen marched to Wallingford, and "burned it all down."* Leaving the place in ruins, they encamped for a day at the adjoining village of Cholsey, which, with its monastery, shared the same fate. This monastery is one of the three old monasteries referred to in Henry I.'s foundation charter of Reading, as having been long before destroyed. It was founded by King Ethelred about the year 986, to atone for the murder of his brother, King Edward the Martyr, at Corfe.† The manor and impropriation of Cholsey belonged to Reading Abbey, and a fine country house there, called "The Abbot of Reading's Place," was granted,‡ 4 and 5 Philip and Mary, to Sir Francis Englefield. A barn of unusual dimensions, being one hundred yards long, eighteen yards broad, and seventeen yards high, supported by seventeen large stone pillars on each side, is said to have been built in the year 1101, and to have belonged to this monastery. Its situation was near the church at Cholsey, and portions of it remained up to the present century. From Cholsey, going westward along the slope of the Downs by Aston, the

* Saxon Chron., p. 113.

† "Chron. de Wallingford," vol. ii. p. 546, edit. Gale.

‡ Tanner, p. 13.

North-men made their way for Cuckamsley Hill; as the Chronicle* has it, from "Cholsey they went along Æscesdun to Cwicelmes Hlæwe, and there tarried out of threatening vaunt, because it had often been said, if they came to Cwicelmes Hlæwe, they would never return to the sea."

Enriched with the spoils of the conquered, they passed on to the seacoast. Meanwhile, King Ethelred sought protection by again making terms with his all-powerful foe, who had now marked with devastation every shire in Wessex. A tribute of thirty-six thousand pounds was offered and accepted, and the Danes were to be allowed to settle peacefully in the land. Whether the Council at which this treaty was made took place in Shropshire or in Oxfordshire, does not distinctly appear. The king chiefly resided in the latter county, at Headington, near Oxford, and at Islip, and several Councils are mentioned as having been held there, as well as at Ensham and Woodstock; but probably at the period we are considering, these parts were in too unsettled a state to offer a safe retreat, even if the royal residences had escaped destruction.

A.D. 1007. The first to abrogate this treaty were those at whose instance it was adopted. Within a very short time the Saxons made a fresh attempt to expel the Danes from the land, and this perfidious act brought down upon them for fully five years the full fury of the Danish hosts, which fell heavily indeed upon the whole valley of the Thames, particularly in this district.

A.D. 1010. After midwinter in this year, the Danes, suddenly issuing from their ships on the Kentish coast, took an upward course through the country of the Chiltern, passed near Wallingford to Oxford, and fired that city. Then they returned all down the Thames, or, as the Chronicle states,† on both sides, the infantry in boats, the cavalry on horseback, burning on every side. First they destroyed Abingdon, then burned Clifton Hampden, attacked Dorchester, and burnt part of the city, but hearing that a large force was marching against them, they retired before all was consumed. Next Bensington was destroyed, and so onwards. They passed the ruins of Wallingford, which had not yet been rebuilt, on their road to Staines, when, fearing the forces of London, they returned to their ships.‡

* Anno 1006.

† Anno 1010.

‡ Freeman, vol. vi.; "Alfgar the Dane," by A. D. Crake, B.A.

By the next year the Danes had overrun East Anglia,* that is, Essex, Middlesex, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, half of Huntingdonshire, and part of Northamptonshire, and on the south of the Thames all Kent and Sussex, Surrey, Berkshire, and Hampshire, and much of Wiltshire. The king and his Witan were again driven to sue for peace, which was purchased by another heavy bribe, and the Northmen were invited to settle in Wessex, on the promise that pay and food would be provided for them; but the basest treachery characterized the action of the West Saxons, who, urged by secret orders from their king, rose and pitilessly massacred the defenceless Danes who had come amongst them. Fearful retribution followed, and again our river valley had to bear the fierce fury of the storm, and to witness an excess of barbarity seldom if ever before equalled.

Sweyn, King of Denmark, exasperated by the massacre of his subjects, sailed to England with a formidable army of freebooters, and, A.D. 1013, marched from the north into the Mercian district abutting on the Thames. After he had crossed Watling Street, the order went forth to his soldiers to plunder the country, to burn the towns and villages, to deface the churches, to murder the men, and to ravish the women. With this atrocious and sanguinary intent, the barbarians marched on to Oxford, then to Winchester, plundering, burning, and butchering, and next to London, where, having been repulsed by King Ethelred, they retreated to Wallingford, which they took,† and “so over the Thames westward to Bath,‡ where all Wessex gave in their submission, and Swein was acknowledged king by the whole nation;” but in the next year he died suddenly.

In 1016, we trace the Danish forces, under Canute and Eadric, Earl of Mercia, who perfidiously joined him, making their way, “with infinite fury and spoil,” from the Lower to the Upper Thames, crossing the river at Cricklade, and then laying waste all Warwickshire in their advance into Buckinghamshire. The exact line of march is not mentioned, but if they traversed the valley, possibly the prostrate condition of

* Saxon Chronicle, anno 1011.

† Chronicle of Roger of Hoveden, vol. i. p. 779.

‡ Saxon Chronicle, anno 1013.

Wallingford and Bensington, which could not then have recovered from the frightful onset of 1006, might have saved the inhabitants from further outrage.

It is probable that soon afterwards the town rapidly recovered its importance, for we find that not only were coins struck at Wallingford in the reign of Canute I., but that in the short period of sixty years, at the time of the Norman Conquest, or rather when Domesday Book was compiled by order of the Conqueror, there were more houses then remaining in Wallingford than were found to exist in any other town in the county of Berks. The extracts taken from Domesday, set out in the next chapter, will show the state and extent of the town; while the fact that coins continued to be minted here in the reigns of Harold I., Edward the Confessor, Harold II., and William I., testifies to its importance.

On the death of Ethelred, his son, Edmund Ironsides, succeeded, who, in the first year of his reign, had several engagements with the Danes, pursued them into Mercia and into Essex, where Eadnoth, Bishop of Dorchester, while he was singing mass, had first his right hand cut off for the sake of his pastoral ring, and was then killed in the church-yard.*

A.D. 1017. Canute I. became sole King of England, and under his rule peace and order were secured, and, if not contentment, internal tranquillity succeeded the state of exhaustion to which the country was reduced by the terrible onslaught of the Danes. One of the king's most prudent advisers was Etheric, Bishop of Dorchester.

Canute's mint at Wallingford is styled "Weli; Welin."† Of his coins struck at Wallingford, there were three in the British Museum in 1843, thus described by Sir Henry Ellis—

"1. *Obverse*—The king's bust, with a helmet and coat of mail, to the left. Before it a sceptre; similar to Ruding, Plate 22, Fig. 4; inscribed: CNVT . REG. *Reverse*—A cross, the ends of which are terminated by a circle. In the centre of the cross an annulet; inscription: EDPERD . ON . PELI.

"2. Type the same on both sides. *Obverse*—CNVT . REX *Reverse*—LEOFDINE . ON . PELI.

* "Hist. Eccles. Eliens.," lib. ii. ch. xiii.

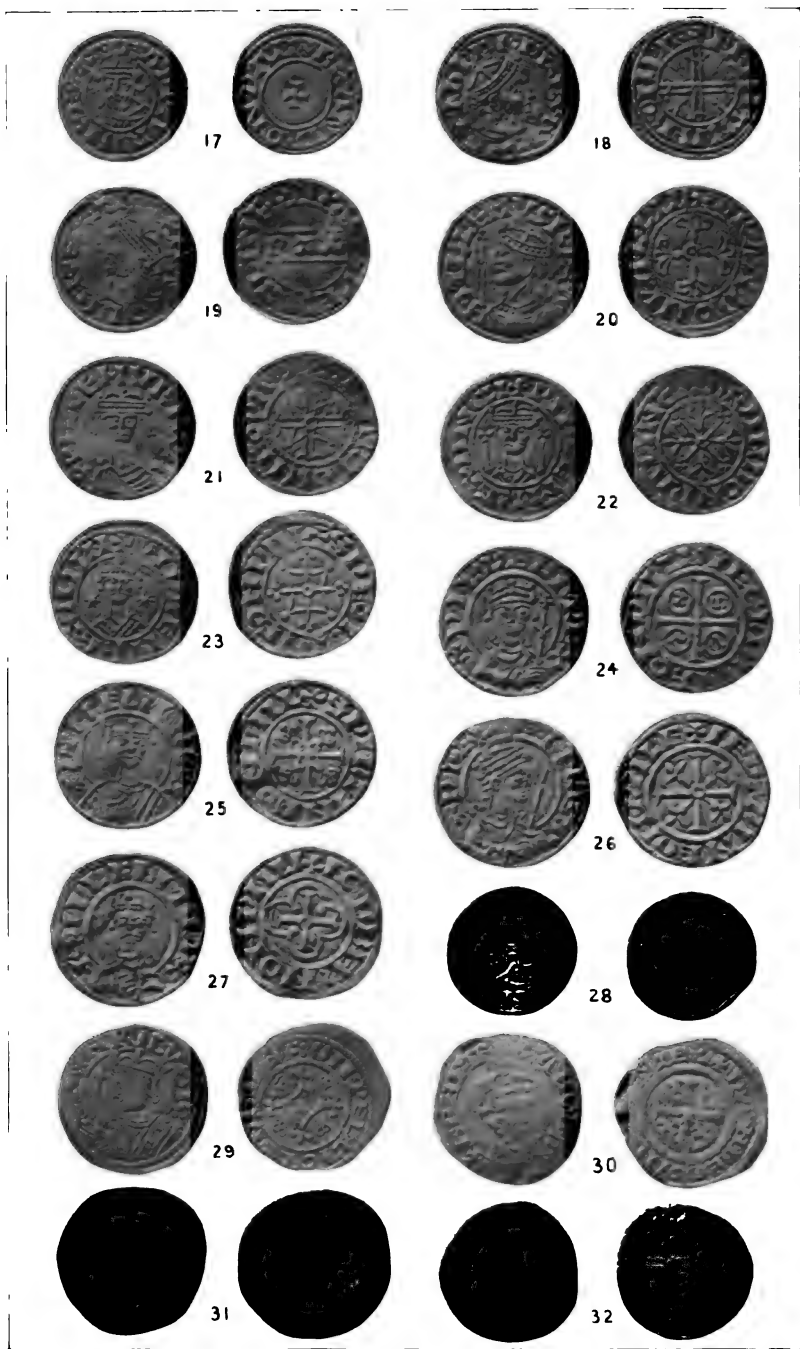
† Ruding, vol. i. p. 383.

"3. On the *obverse*, the king's head crowned within a quatrefoil, to the left, without a sceptre, like Ruding's Plate 23, No. 16; inscription: CNVT . REX . ANGLORVM. *Reverse*—A cross placed upon a quatrefoil, COLEMAN . ON . VELL."

On the death of Canute, in 1036, another great Council was convened at Oxford, to settle the disputes of succession, where, by the interest of Leofric, Earl of Mercia, and almost all the thanes north of the Thames, Harold Harefoot, son of Canute, was advanced to the crown; the opposition of Godwin, the great Earl of the West Saxons, and the chief men of his party, proving to be of no avail.

Several coins of Harold I., struck at the mint here, are in the cabinets of the British Museum; the moneyers' names being Ælwine, Eeric, and Leofwine, on the reverse, and the name of the mint "Wel." Harold is styled "A" for Anglorum.

In 1039, Harold I. died at Oxford, and was succeeded by Harthacnut, who, dying in 1041, suddenly, as he "stood at his drink" at a house at Lambeth, made way for the restoration of the Saxon line, in the person of Edward, son of Ethelred II. and Emma.



CHAPTER VII.

EDWARD THE CONFESSOR TO WILLIAM I.—A.D. 1042 TO 1087.

Saxons restored—Edward the Confessor.

EDWARD the Confessor was born at Islip, a neighbouring village on this side of Oxford. That his birth took place there is proved by his charter of restoration of the Abbey of Westminster, the original of which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. It is thus rendered by Kennett—

“Edward, king, greeteth Wlsey, bishop, and Gyrth, earl, and all my nobles in Oxfordshire. And I tell you that I have given to Christ and St. Peter into Westminster that small village wherein I was born, by name Githslepe, and one hyde at Mersce, scot free and rent free, with all the things that belong thereunto, in wood and field, in meadows and waters, with church, and with the immunities of the church, as fully and as largely and as free as it stood in mine own hand; and also as my mother Imme, upon my right of primogeniture, for my maintenance gave it me entire, and bequeathed it to the family.”

The font at which the Confessor is said to have been baptized was removed from the ruins of the royal chapel at Islip, shortly before Dr. Plot wrote his “Natural History,” and deposited, according to that learned author, and set handsomely on a pedestal, in the garden of Sir Henry Brown, Bart., of Nether Kiddington.

Githslepe as in the above translation, Gibtslepe, Hiltesleape, Ileslepe, Ighteslip, are the names applied at various periods to this place of the king’s nativity, the initial Saxon “G” being dropped, as in many other places, such as Gipeswic

now Ipswich, and Gifteley now 'Iffley, near the above-named royal vill.

The king had a palace at Brill, in the county of Bucks, where he frequently resorted for the pleasure of hunting in his forest of Bernwood; and the passage in Domesday Book leads to the inference that at Wallingford also there was some royal establishment to which the king occasionally resorted.

"In Burgo de Wallingford, Rex Edwardus habuit xv. acras, in quibus manebant huscarles."

In the burgh of Wallingford, King Edward had xv. acres, on which his household servants dwelt.

The term "huscarles," according to Thorpe's translation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, means "the Danish body-guard," which was retained till the time of the Conquest, and Freeman gives it a somewhat similar signification, connecting the term with the occupants of a barrack or a garrison. Sir Henry Ellis observes, "Huscarli were domestic servants, although among them we find thanes and some of the higher tenantry . . . they were also military retainers."* In either case we must conclude that some special connection between the king and the town existed, and it is not improbable that the castle or stronghold, for which the Conqueror substituted his strong fortress at this place soon after his coronation, was the original structure in which the huscarles referred to resided, with, at their head, Wigod de Wallingford, the noble thane who held high office in the Confessor's household, and had his abode here. Wigod is first mentioned in this reign as the possessor of a vast estate, including the manors of Bicester, Ambrosden, and Beckley, in Oxfordshire, of Wycombe, in the county of Bucks, with its woods, affording pannage for five hundred hogs, also Bucknell, Stratton, Weston, and many adjoining villages; but first in the list stand the Castle and honour of Wallingford,† of which he is called the ante-Conquestal proprietor, although his title to the "Castle" at that time is not satisfactorily shown. He may, however, have held it in vassalage of the king.

* See further on this subject, Lappenberg, vol. i. p. 467; Kemble, vol. ii. pp. 118-124; Kelham, p. 238; and Sir Henry Ellis on Domesday Book, vol. i. p. 91, and vol. ii. p. 151.

† Domesday; Kennett; "Hundred of Desborough," by the Rev. Thomas Langley, M.A.

Domesday Book does not throw sufficient light on the history of the Castle to enable us to say whether it was in existence as a fortress in the time of Edward, neither does contemporary history solve the question. William of Jumièges makes no mention of the Castle when he writes, that "William the Norman, after defeating Harold, marched immediately to this city [Wallingford], and, fording the Thames, encamped here before he proceeded to London."

The fifteen acres mentioned in the passage in Domesday Book passed to Wigod, and from him, after the death of his daughter Aldgitha, to his grandson Milo, who next inherited the estates, and "made the Castle of Wallingford his principal seat."*

It has been already shown that the town was utterly destroyed in the year 1006; of course, the Castle, if it existed, must have fallen with it. In 1016, and subsequently, the Danes again desolated the valley of the Thames; and although the Confessor's reign was a long one, extending from 1042 to 1066, the warfare that took place in it was rather maritime than military.

Neither the time, therefore, narrowed as it was by the events that have been recorded, nor the circumstances favour the notion that a castle had been re-erected; while the fact, which is generally admitted, that the Saxons made no military works of their own, but used existing earthworks, leads to a like conclusion. Neither is it likely that Wigod would have been the possessor of such a fortress as the term "castle" implies. Such structures in the hands of private owners were, except in very early times, unknown in England till late in the Saxon period, when we may infer from Kemble that a few great nobles, all of whom were foreigners, may have obtained the royal privilege of fortifying their own residences. Only one instance is mentioned of this privilege having been extended to an Englishman, and that was about the year 880, when the Bishop of Worcester obtained the royal licence for building a fortress in his city, probably "to defend his cathedral in those stormy days of Danish ravage." Grose remarks, "Castles walled with stone, and designed for residence as well as defence, are, for the most part, of no higher antiquity than the Conquest. The Conqueror himself

* Dugdale, "The Baronage of England" (A.D. 1675).

was sensible that the want of fortified places had greatly facilitated his success. To remedy this defect, and to overawe his subjects, he erected numerous castles. Matthew Paris says, "*Ad castra quoque construenda rex antecessores suos omnes superabat.*"

Freeman, in his "History of the Norman Conquest,"* alluding to the early years of the reign of Edward, say 1051, observes, "The building of castles is something of which the English writers of this age frequently speak, and speak always with a special kind of horror. Both the name and the thing were new. To fortify a town, to build a citadel to protect a town, were processes with which England had long been familiar. To contribute to such necessary public works was one of the three immemorial obligations from which no Englishman could free himself. But for a private landowner to raise a private fortress, to be the terror of his neighbours, was something to which Englishmen had hitherto been unaccustomed; and for such a structure the English language had hitherto contained no name." And Hodgson, in his "History of Northumberland," tells us that large and commodious buildings do not appear to have been constructed from the time the Romans left, in 423, to about the year 1200. Even then stone buildings were not allowed, as being capable of being converted into fortifications. And we learn from the same authority that the dwellings of the Anglo-Saxon thane were generally humble and unpretending edifices, most frequently in an enclosure, surrounded by a slight ditch and embankment with palisade.

We must, therefore, arrive at the conclusion that castles, for residence as well as defence, were extremely rare in England before the Norman Conquest; and that, however grand and spacious the residence of Wigod may have been, it was not the *castrum* of the Romans—it lacked the towers and impregnable walls of more ancient times; although the situation in the midst of earthworks of great strength, with probably the circuit of treble dykes, which is now so easily traced, surrounding many acres of land, and self-supplied with water from higher ground on the west, may have given to Wigod's habitation the character of a fortress, approached by drawbridges, through projecting portals and double gates.

* Vol. ii. p. 138.

There are various passages in the Domesday Survey relating to this reign which are set out at length in a subsequent page. They show what large possessions King Edward had in the borough, the customs and privileges that were observed therein, and the punishment inflicted for certain offences, together with other particulars.

King Edward had a mint at Wallingford styled on coins Wa., Wal., Wali., Walin., Walli. It is mentioned in Domesday Book.

There are several coins of this reign in the cabinets of the British Museum, which were struck at Wallingford. Sir Henry Ellis describes some of them, in the letter to which I have referred, as follows:—"Of Edward the Confessor we have three pennies struck at Wallingford, of what is called the sovereign type; like that in Ruding, Plate 28, Fig. 2. *Reverse*—A cross, with a martlet in each quarter, or rather each angle.

1. EADPA . RX . ANGLO
BRAN . . . ÐALI.
2. EADPA . REX . ANGL
BRAND . ON . ÐALIN.
3. EADPA . REX . ANGLO
BRVNÐINE . ON . ÐALI.

"We have also two pennies of Edward the Confessor, both bearing on the obverse the king's head, full-faced, with a crown, as Ruding, Plate 25, No. 31, and on the reverse a small cross.

1. EADVA . REX . A .
BRAND . ON . ÐALI.
2. EADVA . RE . A .
BVREVINE . ON . VA.

"This last coin was presented to the Museum some years ago, by the Rev. Dr. Bliss, of Oxford. It was found at Wallingford."

The names of the other moneyers are Æilwii, Brihtnier, Brihtric, Burewine.

The word "Pax" appears on the reverse of many of the coins of this reign, as also on the coins of Harold and William I.

An interesting discovery of an Anglo-Saxon seal and other articles, now belonging to Mr. Davies,* was made in August,

* Since purchased by A. W. Franks, Esq., of the British Museum, and presented by him to that institution.

1879, in a garden on the west side of the market-place. As some men were excavating, they found, at a depth of about four feet, a quantity of bones, a small iron chain, a small hone or whetstone, an ivory comb an inch and a quarter square, which with the hone has a hole drilled at one end, as also the ivory seal figured *ante*. The seal is unique, dating back probably to the ninth century, and is almost in as fine condition as when first engraved. On the obverse is a bust, with uplifted sword, bare-headed and bearded, with the inscription + SIGIEVM S GODPINI MINISTR + ; "The seal of Godwin the thane." On the reverse is a three-quarter figure of a female, with the right hand upraised, and a book in the left hand, bearing the following legend:— + SIGILLVM GODLYDE MONACHE DŌ DATE + ; "The seal of Godgytha the nun, given to God." Godwin may have been the celebrated earl who was the father-in-law of Edward the Confessor. Another Godwinus is mentioned in Domesday Book as holding land at Wallingford. The raised figures at the top of the obverse are supposed to represent God the Father with the sceptre, and God the Son treading Hades, or sin and death, underfoot. Traces of foundation walls of great age and strength have been discovered close to the spot where this seal was found, from which circumstance it may be inferred that Godgytha the nun was the lady superior of a convent belonging to a religious house in Wallingford.

A blank page left for a wood engraving of this Saxon seal, which now appears in autotype, enables me to add a few further particulars, which support the conjecture that Godwin the Thane, on the obverse, represents the great earl, and that the nun on the reverse was his widow, whose name was Gytha, which, with the prefix "God," is the exact name appearing on the seal; and we may fairly accept the statement that she was in some character or other connected with a monastic institution at Wallingford—probably the head of it—a position which she had assumed after the death of her husband, whom she outlived for many years, devoting herself to works of Christian charity. She possessed lands in Berkshire, which are described in Domesday Book, and retained them till the time of her death; her sons also had lands in the same county, which were forfeited to the king by reason of their treason. Her pious acts are referred to by Free-

man,* who states that she "enriched churches for the welfare of the soul of Godwin." A careful inspection of the seal shows pretty clearly that the obverse and reverse were engraved at different times, and by different engravers: a manifest difference appears both in the style and execution of the work, particularly in the character of the letters, and the circle is less indented on one side, and without an inner rim. We may, therefore, conclude that the engraving of the nun on the reverse took place after the death of the earl, who was in no way connected, so far as I can ascertain, with any religious foundation. He may have been a great champion of liberty, and some say of justice, but the way he treated the nuns of Berkeley, in Gloucestershire, by stripping them of their possessions, is proof that at that time he was no benefactor of the nunneries. It is generally admitted that he enriched himself and his family at the expense of the monastic orders, and we may assume that his actions were not influenced by ecclesiastical considerations. Godwin, says Freeman, "stands perhaps alone among the great men of his own age in having no ecclesiastical foundation connected with his name."

The great anxiety of the Confessor was to bring about a closer relationship between his kingdom and the papacy, and with this view he lost no opportunity of introducing Norman ecclesiastics in preference to those of his own country. He also evinced a desire, no less strong, to advance the interests of his Norman favourites. These combined influences led the king to appoint to the see of Dorchester a foreigner, whose career, shortly given, may be considered with interest and profit.

In 1050, or within four years previously (authorities differ as to the date), Eadnoth, "the good Bishop of Dorchester," died, and the great bishopric, extending from the Thames to the Humber, was conferred by the king on one of his Norman chaplains, named Ulf, who proved to be utterly unfitted for the office; and at a synod in which the bishop sought consecration, he was found to be incapable of going through the ordinary service of the Church, and was on the point of being deposed, when the influence of Rome and the favouritism of

* "History of the Norman Conquest," vol. iv.

the king saved him, but he retained his bishopric at the cost of a lavish expenditure of treasure.*

So long as Ulf and the other ecclesiastics whom the partiality of the king had thrust into the highest offices of the English Church, were able to "sun themselves in the smiles of the court," all went on well; but distrust and opposition arose on the part of the people. Earl Godwin headed the popular movement that ensued. The king's favourites were denounced as having been the curse of England, and Ulf and the others escaped the vengeance of the people by mounting their horses and riding for their lives. "Sword in hand," says Freeman, "the prelates of Canterbury and Dorchester, Robert and Ulf, cut their way through the streets, wounding and slaying as they went. They burst through the east gate of London, and rode straight for the haven of Eadwulfsness (Walton-on-the-Naze, in Essex). There they found an old crazy ship; they went on board of her, and so got over sea. Never again did those evil prelates trouble England with their personal presence."

But the expulsion of these two favourites was not so sudden an affair as these remarks would lead us to suppose. They had previously obtained a respite by the decree of banishment that had been issued against Godwin and his two sons, Sweyn and Harold, who had joined him in laying the complaints of the nation before the Crown; and it was not till the successful invasion of English territory by these outlawed leaders a few months afterwards, that the flight of the Dorchester bishop took place.

During the period of Godwin's banishment, William, Duke of Normandy, visited the king—a visit which has its significance in connection with the Conqueror's subsequent stay at Wallingford, as the guest of Wigod.

In 1066, King Edward died at Westminster, and an epoch commenced, in which Wallingford bore no unimportant part in the history of the country. On the death of the Confessor, Harold assumed the regal dignity, regarding the oath he had taken to advance the claims of Duke William to the English throne as having been improperly extorted from him, and therefore not binding. He was crowned by Stigand, and it was said the Normans were for ever expelled. The fatal

* Freeman, vol. i.

battle of Hastings followed, and Harold fell, with sixty thousand of his men, whilst William lost six thousand of his bravest followers.* With this dreadful slaughter fell the Saxon dynasty.

Of the coins of Harold II. in the British Museum, there are three minted at Wallingford, the names of the moneyers being Burgwine and Swehtline. His mint was styled Wali, Walin.†

A.D. 1066—*William the Conqueror.*

Six days after the decisive battle of Hastings, the Conqueror began his eastward march along the south coast. The line of his march was marked by ceaseless ravage, and, according to Freeman, Dover, Canterbury, and other Kentish towns surrendered to him without resistance. Collier, however, relates, with great minuteness, an incident which, as Stigand, the Archbishop of Canterbury, seems to have taken a foremost part in it, as he so soon afterwards did at Wallingford, we must not pass over as altogether irrelevant, although we are told by Lingard‡ that the story is the fiction of later ages.

Stigand occupied the first place in the council of Edgar Etheling, the young but lawful heir to the Saxon throne; and when William was marching his army into Kent, the men of that county, putting themselves under the command of Stigand and Egelsin, Abbot of St. Augustine's, resolved to lose their lives rather than their liberty, which they thought would be endangered under the arbitrary rule of the Conqueror.

As the story goes, each soldier took a bough in his hand, large enough to cover him. The next day, Duke William perceived a body of men moving towards him, but could not distinguish them from a wood, till within a short distance. The stratagem having thus far succeeded, the Kentish men threw down their boughs, put themselves in order of battle, and sounded a charge. The unexpected attack so surprised the duke and his army, who had regarded the kingdom as gained by the victory in Sussex, that they desired a parley, which led to a treaty of peace, whereby the Kentish men promised obedience to the Conqueror, on having their

* William of Malmesbury.

† Ruding, vol. i. p. 403.

‡ "History of England," vol. i. p. 429.

privileges secured by the grant of a constitution, and thus says Collier, the old laws and customs were preserved to the Kentish men by the courage and conduct of Stigand and Egilsin.

It does not appear from Domesday Book that the special privileges here spoken of, if acquired, were retained, for there is not in the Survey "the name of a single private English tenant, who held land in *capite* in all Kent,"* at the time. This circumstance has been considered sufficient to upset the legend we have mentioned; but it may be argued that the completeness of confiscation in the county was exceptional, and was due to the hostile attitude assumed by the Kentish men on the Conqueror's march to London.

Lingard dwells on the improbability that the duke during his progress should have found himself gradually enveloped by what bore the appearance of a moving forest; that, on a sudden, the branches which had been taken from the trees should have fallen to the ground, and in their fall disclosed a host of archers, with their bows ready bent, and their arrows directed against the invaders; and he, moreover, states that the story was unknown to the more ancient writers. On the other hand, it is vouched by Thorn, the author of "*Antiquitates Britannicæ*," by Sprott and others. Looking at the usages of the times, at the period in question, and the precision with which the story is related, it can hardly be said that it does not bear the impress of reality. That Stigand was equal to the occasion, and lacked not the will to originate the movement, is proved by his character, his sturdy patriotism, and marked adherence to the Anglo-Saxon dominion, almost from first to last. Moreover, in the ordinary course of things, it is unlikely that a hostile march towards London, which extended over several weeks, and in which it is admitted "Norman stragglers" were killed, and "sick left behind," should have been unattended with the slightest check, as we are asked by some writers to believe. And when we consider the fearful devastation that marked the Conqueror's march, "ravaging, burning, and slaughtering," as Freeman says, and the consequent excited state of the people, it is equally hard to believe that the spirit of self-defence and independence, characteristic of our Saxon ancestors, could be

* Freeman.

so easily annihilated, or the fear of the duke's name so great, that the people came "from all parts of Kent to do their homage to the Conqueror," to offer him gifts, and, as his own poet adds, "to kiss his feet." At any rate, as he neared the great city, no stretched-forth hands were there to greet him. A determined resistance was threatened, and, guarded by its noble river and Roman walls, the city held out with success, and although the citizens were driven back by William's army within the ramparts, and Southwark was given to the flames, he did not succeed in crossing the Thames, nor did he venture any direct attack on the city. He retraced his steps, and made for Wallingford. And now arises the question, What took the Norman invader of England to Wallingford? He kept on the right bank of the river, hurrying as he went through Surrey, Hampshire, and Berkshire, till, at Wallingford, a ford and a bridge supplied safe and easy means of crossing, with no opposing force to bar his progress. He had now, with his army, reached a spot which, as shown in a former chapter, must have played no unimportant part in the days of the earlier invaders of Britain.

Here he was in the shire of the brave sheriff Godric, in a royal town, part of which it would seem had been set apart, if not as a royal residence, as a sort of special barrack or garrison for the king's huscarles. Was the duke looking for a renewal of those earlier days, by achievements of his own on the battle-field of Claudius? or was he seeking a country possessing so many natural advantages in a military point of view as to be considered the key of nearly half the kingdom? I think not. Here lived the great and powerful Wigod,* lord of the honour and manor, and sheriff of the neighbouring shire of Oxford, ready to receive the Norman chief, whose progress he had favoured; and we may well suppose there was

* His general appellation was Wigod de Wallingford, but Bishop Kennett considers "'de Wallingford' may have been added to his name in later ages, to distinguish this thane or nobleman by his residence, as it is generally admitted that surnames were introduced by the Normans." —Kennett, vol. ii. p. 23.

It will be seen, however, in Freeman, p. 728, that the Confessor greeted him, "*Minne lifne may Mygod on Walingeforde*," and gave him instructions under that name. Wigod is said to be descended from that celebrated Saxon hero, Guy, Earl of Warwick (Burke's "*Commentary*"); but we have yet to learn that this celebrated Guy was anything but a mythical hero.

a perfect understanding between them, which had its origin in the time of Edward the Confessor. Fourteen years before the Conquest, and shortly after his marriage to Matilda of Flanders, the Duke William, leaving the government of Normandy to her care, crossed over to England to pay a visit to his friend and kinsman, the Confessor, who, having been brought up amongst the Normans, had constantly his Norman friends and favourites with him. By his marriage the duke had strengthened this connection, and added a nearer tie of relationship to the English sovereign. "Edward," says Wace, "received him very honourably, and presented him with hawks and hounds and many other fair and goodly gifts as tokens of his love." And at this visit, according to several historians, the duke obtained from Edward the promise of being adopted as his successor to the English throne. Then commenced a series of political intrigues to secure that mighty object. Wigod was high in favour with, and the cup-bearer * and kinsman by courtesy, if not by blood, of the Confessor. Doubtless he was mixed up with all the State events and intrigues of the day, and as he afterwards openly favoured the duke's pretensions, it is not an unreasonable conjecture that he might have joined the Norman barons, who surrounded the weak king's throne, in promoting adhesion to the Norman cause. This adhesion appears to have continued, for we find that in after times this great thane was one of the Conqueror's strongest supporters, and threw all his influence on the side of the Norman. It is, therefore, a natural inference that the duke, having met with a repulse at Southwark, should have hastily directed his march into the territory of a friendly adherent, and sought the opportunity of maturing his plans for the subjection of London by an approach on the other side. Here we may reasonably look for the chief inducement that brought the Conqueror to Wallingford.

The victorious prince, on his arrival, was met by Wigod,† who delivered the town into his possession, and sumptuously entertained him, perhaps on the very spot from which these lines are penned. Here, within the ancient defences, he rested his forces, and here, says Freeman, one of the vast mounds

* Freeman, vol. iii.

† William of Poitiers. : 4

which speak of earlier days of English victory under Edward the Unconquered, stood ready to become, at William's bidding, the kernel of a stronghold, from which the new invader might hold Englishmen in bondage.

In the mean time, mistrust and disunion reigned among the advisers of Edgar, and many nobles of the adverse party here made their submission. The first who threw himself on the mercy of the Conqueror, we are told, was Stigand; but we may rather suppose that, having played his part in Sussex with success, he came hither, like a faithful follower, in obedience to the pledge he had given. "The archbishop," says Lingard, "met him as he crossed the Thames, and swearing fealty to him as sovereign, he was received with the flattering appellation of 'father' and 'bishop.'"

The exact period of the Conqueror's stay at Wallingford is uncertain. According to Stow, "he commanded his army to settle themselves there for a while."*

In Rapin's "History of England," it is implied that the stay was of some duration, as the Conqueror's object in posting himself at Wallingford was to terrify the citizens of London, by continually sending detachments therefrom to ravage the counties adjoining their city, and prevent them from laying in stores.†

Dunkin states that "he was a guest of Wigod's for several days, and the pleasures of the feast were finally closed by the marriage of Wigod's daughter, Aldith, to Robert de Oily."‡

This Robert was of noble descent, the eldest son of the Seigneur de Oily, near Lisieux, in Normandy, and one of the most eminent of the Norman chieftains who came over with the Conqueror. Like his father-in-law, he was a great favourite of the king's, and by royal grant shared largely in the spoil of the Conquest.

That the king gave the heiress of the renowned thane in marriage to his particular friend is beyond dispute, and the occasion was inviting for the exercise of the royal prerogative, and for the celebration of the nuptials; a fitting opportunity also presented itself for the Conqueror to mark his sense of the services rendered, and, as suggested by some author, to ingratiate himself with the Saxons. He had not been crowned

* "Annals," p. 129.

† Vol. i. p. 166.

‡ "History of Bicester."

at this time, but he nevertheless wielded the sovereign power, and was regarded as king by the greater part of the nation.

When William left the domain of his faithful subject at Wallingford, he passed the great border stream, and, as Freeman reminds us, "set foot for the first time on Mercian soil, and was on the old battle-ground of Bensington, where Angle and Saxon, now falling fast under one common bondage, had in other days fought out their border quarrels." *

The crossing is supposed to have taken place partly by a ford and partly by a bridge, at a point south of the present structure, and as confirmatory of this opinion, there is a small piece of land near the west end of the bridge forming a little promontory into the river, which to this day is called "Port Royal," and, according to tradition, was the place of embarkation. This part of the Thames, as there is sufficient reason for concluding, was called "The Shallows" in the time of the Romans; and the shallowness of the stream, which has continued to the present day, and the discovery of Roman remains in its bed, more particularly mentioned in a former chapter, point to this spot as the probable ford by which the Romans and, following their example, the Conqueror, as we are justified in supposing, crossed over from one bank to the other.

The duke made for Berkhamstead,† in Hertfordshire, and great havoc and spoil were committed on the march thither. His plan, matured perhaps within these very trenches, evidently was to surround the great capital with a wide circle of conquered and wasted country, till sheer desolation should compel its defenders to submit. South and west of the city he was master from Dover to Wallingford; his course was now to march on, till the lands north and east of London should be as thoroughly subdued as those south of the Thames. He followed out this plan till he reached Berkhamstead, and there another act of William's great work was played out. The defection of the northern earls had left the chief military command of London in the hands of the wounded Staller Esegar, Sheriff of the Middle Saxons,

* Vol. iii. p. 543.

† Berkhamstead was the early seat of the kings of Mercia. In the time of the Confessor, the manor was held by Edmar, a thane, of Earl Harold, and came by confiscation to the Conqueror.

and the layman holding the highest rank in the city : on him devolved the defence of London. So severely wounded was he that, it is said, he could neither walk nor ride, but he was reluctant to yield, although it was hopeless to resist. The spirit of the great city had failed, one by one forsook the cause of the youthful heir, and submission to the invader was the only course to pursue. Edgar himself, "a king deposed before he was full king,"* the Metropolitan of York, at least two other bishops, and many of the chief men of England, made their submission at Berkhamstead. Whether Stigand was among the number has been doubted, arising, perhaps, from the belief that he had previously yielded obedience at Wallingford. This obedience, however, did not extend to the archbishop's spiritual functions at the coronation of the king, which took place at Westminster, before Christmas; the ceremony was performed by Ealdred, Archbishop of York, Stigand having refused to take a foremost part in the consecration, because, as we are told by Ralfe Brook, "William was a verie proud and lewde liver."†

But we must look to other reasons as the probable cause of Stigand's absence from the coronation. He had placed the crown on Harold's head; he had anointed Edgar as king, and regarded him as his special charge; and he hoped to the last, as Dr. Hook tells us, that his countrymen would rise and expel the Norman, and reassert the Saxon dominion. Notwithstanding the marked respect and reverence which the Conqueror is said to have shown to this bishop, there must have been, we may reasonably suppose, a latent feeling of distrust towards him, and an unwillingness to receive, at the hands of the Saxon, the unction which, according to the principles of the age, was the only important part of a coronation, and carried with it a sort of superstitious solemnity. Stigand must have been equally reluctant to perform an act which implied, if it did not evidence, allegiance to the Norman crown. This mutuality of sentiment probably led to the withdrawal of the archbishop from the ceremony. But it was not long before open hostility manifested itself. At the instance of the king and the pope,

* Chron. Wig., 1066.

† "Catalogue of Kings and Princes," by Ralfe Brook, York Herald, 1622.

Stigand was deposed, and afterwards arrested and condemned to perpetual seclusion in a prison at Winchester, where he died broken-hearted, without the common necessities of life.

But to return to Wigod. Great desolation followed the Norman Conquest, and many of the chief families were reduced to a state of comparative destitution, "and found no asylum but in the cloister." * Wigod retained his great possessions; and this retention has subjected him to the imputation of having resorted to unworthy means for the purpose of securing that object. Of this opinion appears to be Freeman, who, referring to the transfer of land by William to strangers, observes, "When men saw Thurkill of Warwick, Wigod of Wallingford, and Eadward of Salisbury, glutted with the spoils of Englishmen truer and braver than themselves, it must have been a sight even more bitter than to see the exaltation of men who were at least foreign enemies and not home-bred traitors." Perhaps the general demoralization of the age, and the habits of the people, may incline us to believe that, after the decisive battle had broken the royal succession, an inviting way was opened for securing the favour of the Conqueror, which Wigod followed for the purpose of advancing his own interest; but beyond what may be assumed from this circumstance, and the fact that his great possessions remained intact, there is nothing, so far as I can discover, to cast discredit on this great and noble Saxon, while his early and long-continued devotion to the Conqueror is amply sufficient to account for the exercise of any royal favour. There is no evidence within my reach to show that the Conqueror increased to any extent the possessions which Wigod had at the time of the Confessor. The recipient of the royal bounty in this respect was Robert d'Oyley, the son-in-law of Wigod. The *gravamen*, therefore, of the accusation against the Saxon is that, by some means or other, he retained what belonged to him before the Conquest. Certainly it was considered by William that all lay property throughout England was, in a legal sense, forfeited to the Crown, and many landowners, Freeman tells us, went through the ceremony of buying back their lands from the king, but confiscation rarely took place in the early years of the reign,

* Ellis's Domesday.

except in the case of death, when the seizure of the lands was not an uncommon occurrence.

Now, the time of Wigod's death is uncertain, but as his name is not mentioned in Domesday Book as a landowner at the time of its compilation, it may be assumed that he was dead before it was completed. That he was a faithful subject of the king, and stood high in his favour, is proved by the frequent part he took as commendator. Many English landowners found it necessary to beg or buy fresh grants of their own lands from the king, through the medium of commendation, and here the services of Wigod were called into request. Several such cases are recorded in which he and others acted; and one in particular is mentioned by Freeman, of a man who "bought his own land of the king, and yet found it expedient to commend himself to Wigod of Wallingford," for the purpose, it may be presumed, of securing or strengthening his holding. Thus we see how powerful was the influence this great man exercised under the king, and how lasting was the friendship that subsisted between them, commencing during the reign of the Confessor, and continuing down to a time in the reign of the Conqueror when Wigod must have been far advanced in life; and it seems hard to impute to him mercenary and corrupt motives and actions, because he was allowed to retain the undisturbed possession of his estates. Doubtless the extent of these estates gave him influence and power, and the opportunity of protecting and, possibly, oppressing his less fortunate countrymen; and a man in that position would be naturally open to attack from those who envied his exaltation, or had incurred his displeasure; and hence may have arisen a prejudice, from which much that has been said derogatory to his character may have originally sprung.

Besides the daughter who married Robert d'Oyley, Wigod had an only son, Tokig, who did good service to William in the battle-field of Archenbrai, and fell by his side, during the unnatural warfare between father and son, as after stated.

On Wigod's death, his daughter succeeded to all his estates, including the honour of Wallingford.

The pedigree of the thane, and the descent of his land, have by some been considered as matters of conjecture only, on the assumption that there existed no record to establish

the facts; there is, however, documentary evidence of a conclusive character, which sets the question at rest. An inquisition on the very points was taken at Wallingford, by command of the king, and the particulars appear in a subsequent page,* under the reign of Henry II. They are taken from the Testa de Nevill, and it has been suggested that, because this book contains the fees at the time of Henry III. and Edward I., the inquisition was not ordered by Henry II., but by his grandson, Henry III. Whether it was made by order of the one or the other is not material. The interval was not great, and although the book may not have been of contemporary authority, it is no less decisive as to the terms and finding of the inquest. By royal patent, D'Oyley—for we will now adopt the abbreviated name—was created Baron of Hokenorton, and the barony of Oxford, with other large possessions, was acquired by him as a free gift from the Conqueror, who, however, reserved to himself the tenure in chief, according to the custom of those days. His acquisition in the city of Oxford is thus referred to by Kennett—"Soon after his coronation, the king designed a journey to the north for the quiet of those parts, and in his way thither came to Oxford, which city refused to yield to him, and a soldier from the wall gave him a most contemptible affront; † upon which provocation the king stormed it on the north side, and, gaining an easy entrance, he gave the greatest part of it to Robert de Oily, who, at the Survey, had, within the walls and without, forty-two houses inhabited, and eight lying waste. About which time, the king fearing that his new subjects might turn Wallingford, as they had Oxford, into a garrison against him, he commanded the lord of it, Robert de Oily, to fortify it with a new castle, for prevention of that danger." The site selected was the stronghold—we may call it the castle—of Wigod.

In Domesday Book is mentioned the amount of destruction which the building of Wallingford Castle occasioned: "Pro castello sunt viii. hagæ [= houses] destructæ." The language employed implies that a new castle was built, and not in substitution of one then existing. Peter Langtoft, in his Chronicle, ‡ remarks that the castle built by William the Conqueror was in lieu of an older castle that had, he

* Page 266.

† Matthew Paris.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 603.

supposed, been originally built by the Romans, though utterly destroyed by the Danes. We may date the commencement of the erection A.D. 1067, 1 and 2 William I., and of its completion, before 1071. In the interval there was a season of peculiar misery in England—the year 1069. On the breaking up of the court, and the departure of Queen Matilda and her children for Normandy, trade languished, and the horrors of civil war were aggravated by the distress of a starving population. Whether the new castle had been built and the fortifications strengthened by this time, does not appear, but that the danger of insurrection apprehended by the king when he ordered these works to be done was well founded, the state of the country at this period amply proves.

It was in this year, and to prevent the rebellious people from confederating together in nocturnal assemblies, that a custom was introduced, which in Wallingford remains to the present day. In order to prevent these meetings and the opportunity they afforded for encouraging the people to revolt, an order was issued, which made it compulsory to extinguish the lights and fires in all houses at eight o'clock every evening at the tolling of a bell, called from that circumstance the curfew, or *couvre feu*.^{*} At this place the curfew tolls the knell of parting day at nine o'clock, and at six o'clock every morning the bell is again brought into requisition, as a signal to the inhabitants to rise, and let us hope that no niggardly action on the part of the authorities will deprive the town of so useful a custom, which probably originated with the Conqueror in this very burgh.

In 1071, the king commanded Robert d'Oyley to build a castle on the west side of the city of Oxford, as he had done at Wallingford.[†] This appears by an entry in the Osney Register under this date. It was finished A.D. 1073, and a chapel was built within its walls, wherein D'Oyley established a fraternity of secular priests,[‡] whom he endowed with considerable possessions in the county of Oxford, including the churches of Cudelinton, Weston, and Cestreton, with two parts of the tithe of his demesne in Berencester (Bicester), Wrechwike, Bleckesdon, Weston, Bukenhull, Ardulfley, North-broc-juxta-Somerton, etc., two parts of all the tithe of Beckele, the whole tithes of Aclee, Horton, and Mercote, half

^{*} Speed. [†] Woods' "Antiq. Oxon." [‡] Osney Register, Kennett.

a hide of land in Stodele belonging to Beckele, and two hides of land with wood and other appurtenances in Ernecot now Arnecot, in the parish of Ambrosden. These estates formed part of the territory of Wigod, which was inherited by his daughter, and, in her right, by her husband Robert, and some of them belonged to the honour of Wallingford. We must not assume from the above particulars that the Castle and chapel were both erected, and the endowment made about the same time, and thereby deduce an approximate date of Wigod's death, because, in the first charter of Robert d'Oyley, preserved in the Osney Register, there is no mention of the places enumerated, and although the appropriation to the abbey formed part of the inherited property, such acquisition by inheritance would not, in the ordinary course of things, have occurred till the death of the son and heir; and it was not till the year 1077 that his (Tokig's) life was sacrificed in the gallant exploit under the walls of the castle of Gerberoi, in defence of the king. We cannot even take it for granted that Wigod was dead at this time; those who suppose that he died soon after the marriage of his daughter may regard this endowment and the quotation from Kennett in a previous page, in which Robert d'Oyley is called Lord of Wallingford, as corroborative of their views; but the term "lord" can hardly be construed to embrace a territorial lordship—it may mean nothing more than ruler or constable of the fortress. Probably the bulk of the estates was not inherited by the daughter till about the time her husband transferred to De Ivery the moiety or portion of the property he had acquired pursuant to the compact mentioned in the following page.

The author of "The House of D'Oyley" gives particulars of the estates which were conferred on the baron by the king, as under.

Twenty-eight lordships in the county of Oxford, namely, Watlington, Goring, Bicester, Chadlington, Eaton, Hocknorton, Drayton, Shirburn, Wheatfield, Lewknor, Heyford, Bucknell, Fritwell, Elsfeld, Hardwicke, Stratton Audley, Weston-on-the-Green, Bletchington, Ducklington, Bampton, Pyrton, Rousham, Studley, Estcote, Cheneton, Kirtlington, Holwell, and Tew; as well as Chaddleshworth, Letcombe Bassett, Shefford, and two baronies in Ardington, in the county of

Berks, besides estates in Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, Gloucestershire, Northamptonshire, Hertfordshire, and Warwickshire.

Some of these estates, however, do not appear to have passed direct from the king, as they belonged to the Wigod territory; such, for instance, as the manor of Bicester, which was in the honour of Wallingford, and is mentioned in Domesday Book as belonging to Wigod in the eighteenth year of King Edward the Confessor.

Among the under-tenants of Robert d'Oyley appears the name of Azor the "dispensator," who, having received back his land from the king, was unjustly deprived of his rank as tenant in chief, and became a vassal of the baron.

We have before referred to the unnatural encounter between the king and his eldest son, Robert, in which Wigod's son and heir, Tokig, took such a valorous but fatal part. The year was 1077, and Freeman, in his fine historical style, thus records the startling story—

"William's first wound came from the hand from which a wound is most bitter. Father and son met face to face in the battle; the parricidal spear of Robert pierced the hand of his father; an arrow at the same moment struck the horse on which he rode, and William the Conqueror lay for a moment on the earth, expecting death at the hands of his own son. A loyal Englishman sped to his rescue. A survivor of Senlac or Ely might well have fought for William in such a quarrel. Tokig, the son of Wigod of Wallingford, fighting on horseback in Norman fashion, sprang down and offered his horse, like Eustace at Senlac, to the fallen king. At that moment, the shot of a cross-bow gave the gallant thegn of Berkshire a mortal wound, and Tokig gave up his life for his sovereign, beneath the walls of Gerberoi, to the increase of the estates of his Norman brother-in-law at Wallingford and Oxford. In this fierce exchange of hand-strokes, the younger William,* the dutiful son, the future tyrant, was also wounded in the defence of his father. With difficulty the king and his sons retreated. An English writer ventures to say that they fled before the face of the victorious rebel, leaving many of their followers dead in the field, and many prisoners in the hands of Robert." †

* William Rufus.

† Vol. iv. p. 648.

Here we get the opinion of Freeman that it was not till the death of the brave Tokig that Wigod's estates, or at any rate a considerable part of them, passed to his daughter.

Like most of the Norman adventurers, the principle of *meum and tuum* found no place in D'Oyley's actions during the early part of his residence at Oxford. Referring to that city, "he spared," says M. Thierry, "neither rich nor poor," and at length his plunders were extended to Church property. He possessed himself of the lordship of Whitchurch, in Oxfordshire, belonging to the Abbey of Abingdon; afterwards he seized, for the use of the soldiers in the Castle, with the king's sanction, a large meadow without the walls of Oxford, belonging to the same abbey. The monks, according to the legend, were so much exasperated that they prayed unceasingly to the Virgin to avenge their injury, and in consequence a terrible sickness fell upon Robert d'Oyley, and then, being still impenitent, a fearful dream warned him of the certain punishment in the world to come for his misdeeds. Without putting faith in the monkish fable, it seems clear that, by some instrumentality or other, a total reformation of his conduct succeeded, and D'Oyley became a great benefactor, not only to the Church, but to the poor, and Wallingford shared in his charitable gifts. He made a large endowment, including the lordship of Tadmarton, to the Abingdon Monastery; he founded two churches at Oxford, one, the Collegiate Church of St. George, for secular Augustine canons, and the other the Church of Holywell; * he also founded the Priory of Wallingford, for the order of Black Monks, besides at his own charge repairing several parish churches, and it is generally supposed the Church of St. Leonard in this town was one of them. For these pious uses he transferred a considerable portion of his large possessions, with the consent of his wife, and his brothers Nigel and Gilbert; he was also aided by De Ivery. In the Second Part of this book will be found some interesting particulars respecting the Priory of Wallingford, which was made by Robert a cell appendant to the Abbey of St. Albans, and sent to the mother monastery several of her most renowned abbots.

One of the earliest celebrities imprisoned in Wallingford Castle was Aldred, Abbot of Abingdon, under circumstances

* Kennett, vol. i. p. 98.

which it may be interesting to mention. In the third year of the king's reign, the forces of the Danes, under the two sons of Sweyn, King of Denmark, united with a section of the English in open revolt. The scene of their operations lay in the north, but the withdrawal of the Danes left William master of the country. A desperate band of English patriots, however, remained, who, under their leader, the outlaw Hereward, offered a determined but unsuccessful resistance in the fens of Ely, where the last struggle of the English took place, with the surrender of the town. It was, it seems, the gallant but vain attempt of the inmates and tenants of Abingdon Abbey to carry help to the defenders of the eastern town, that brought down upon their abbot, in the year 1071, the punishment of incarceration for life,* first in the Castle of Wallingford, and afterwards at Winchester, under the milder custody of Bishop Walkelin. The poor abbot must have had a hard task to accomplish; conspiracy and revolt were rife almost everywhere, especially, we are told, in so English-hearted a district as Berkshire, so that it was unsafe for even an abbot to go about without a military guard.† Besides providing this body-guard, and another for the defence of his own monastery, the Lord of Abingdon had to send men to take a share in the defence of the newly built castles of Oxford, Wallingford, and Windsor.‡ This obligation faithfully performed—and there is no reason to think otherwise—was sufficiently onerous, one would suppose, to have exempted the abbot from any imputation of partiality in the rebellious project; but beyond a modification of his sentence, which freed him from any special hardship, save the loss of his liberty, he suffered for the faults of others to the full extent of the penalty, and his abbey was granted by the king to a monk named Adeilm or Ethelhelm, who was said to be a Norman, although the name sounds like Saxon.

Ulf, the Bishop of Dorchester, of whom it was said he did nothing bishoplike, and whose flight from London is before described, died A.D. 1072; and Remigius was preferred to this see; but at a Council held the same year in London, the episcopal seat was transferred from Dorchester, "as too obscure a place,"§ to the city of Lincoln.

* Chron. Abingdon.

† "History of Abingdon," vol. ii. p. 3.

‡ Freeman, vol. iv. p. 339.

§ "Hist. Ingulphi," p. 93.

Among those who followed the train of the Conqueror, was another distinguished Norman, Roger de Ivery, called by some authors John. Though not allied by blood to Robert d'Oyley, he was his sworn brother and fellow-adventurer, and they had both mutually engaged by oath to be sharers of each other's fortune. The incident is thus referred to in Dunkin's "Oxfordshire," and Kennett—

The family of De Ivery were descended from Rodulph, half-brother to Richard, the first Duke of Normandy, who, for killing a monstrous boar while hunting with the duke (his brother), was rewarded with the Castle of Ivery, on the river l'Evre, and from thence entitled Comes de Ibreio. Nobly born, and burning with military ardour, he readily engaged in the expedition against England, and meeting with a kindred spirit in Robert d'Oyley, they mutually swore to become sharers in the same fortune. Accordingly, when success had crowned the enterprise, and the death of Wigod added his hereditary estates to the ample domains granted by the king to Robert d'Oyley, that chieftain, in performance of his oath, freely gave to John de Ivery one entire barony, of which Beckley was the capital. The barony included Ambrosden, its hamlets Blackthorn and Arncott, with the villages of Hodley, Notbrook, Mixbury, etc.; and was in after ages known by the name of the honour of St. Valery. De Ivery died about the year 1079, being about three years after he had acquired the barony, leaving three sons. Roger, the elder, succeeded to the barony, and to the office of cup-bearer to the king, which his father had previously held; the second son, Hugh, taking the manor of Ambrosden; Geoffery, the youngest, after the death of his two brothers, came into the possession of the whole of the estates.*

It should be stated, however, that the descent of these estates was not uninterrupted. On the death of the Conqueror, the nation was divided on the point of succession. Roger de Ivery, the son, joined the barons in supporting the claim of Robert, the eldest son and heir, and by this means he so incurred the king's displeasure that he was forced to flee beyond sea, and submit to the loss of all his estates in England. He died in sorrow and disgrace, after a short time of banishment; but in the year 1088 the estates were restored.

* Domesday and Osney Register.

A.D. 1082, 15 and 16 William I. Now began, by order of the king, with the advice of his Parliament, the general survey of all parts of England, except the three most northern counties, which were so desolated by wars and incursions that no account could be taken of them. According to some historians, the work was begun two years earlier, but all agree that it was not fully completed till 1086. King Alfred's Roll, called *Dome Boc*, which contained a general survey of the kingdom, was adopted, it would seem, as a model.

The new Survey was called "Great Terrar," or, more commonly, *Domesday*, a corruption, probably, of the Saxon name. Stowe considers the appellation *Domesday* to be a corruption of *Domus Dei Book*, a title given it because it was deposited in the king's treasury in a place in the Church of Westminster or Winchester, called *Domus Dei*; but by others the name of the book is said to be derived from the character of the book itself, which was never allowed to be called in question, and "from which, as from the sentence pronounced at doomsday, or the day of judgment, there could be no appeal." The two primary objects the king had in view were, no doubt, to ascertain the taxable wealth of the country, and its military strength; but beyond these objects the work contains a vast amount of local and personal details relating to the state and constitution of old English towns; and there is no county as to which the materials of this kind are so full as Berkshire, Wallingford occupying by far the largest portion. It has been remarked that "the Survey is a picture of the nation, and nothing else," and truly, the domestic life of this place is depicted in it. Alluding to Wigod, Freeman* observes, "We turn to the great Survey, and we find the history, if not of the man himself, yet of his house and kindred and neighbours, in this or that piece of incidental detail, till we feel as if the whole thegnhood of Berkshire in the days of King Edward and of King William were among the men of our own personal knowledge." It will be interesting, therefore, to see what precautions were taken by the king to secure the execution of a faithful and impartial survey, and to what particulars the attention of the Commissioners was especially directed. Commissioners were sent into every county and shire, and

* Vol. v. p. 38.

juries summoned in each hundred, out of all orders of free-men, from barons down to the lowest farmers. The itinerant Commissioners for these parts were Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester, Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard, Earl of Buckingham, Henry de Feriers, and Adam, brother of Eudo, etc.* The inhabitants were to give to them information, upon oath, of the name of each manor, and that of its owner; also by whom it was held in the time of Edward the Confessor; the number of hides; the quantity of wood, of pasture, and of meadow land; how many ploughs were in the demesne, and how many in the tenanted part of it; how many mills, and how many fish-ponds or fisheries belonged to it; the value of the whole in the time of King Edward, as well as when granted by King William. They were likewise directed to return the tenants of every degree, the quantity of lands held by each of them, what was the number of villeins or slaves, and also the number and kinds of their cattle and live stock.

Not only was the precise nature and value of the lands and tangible property throughout England, and the names and conditions of the holders thus ascertained, and the customs and services attaching to each estate, but, according to Ingulphus, Abbot of Croyland, "the substance and money and bondsmen of all the people were to be recorded, with their cattle." Miss Strickland also tells us that the inquiry "extended to ascertaining how much money every man had in his house, and what was owing to him." But on this last point of inquiry the Commissioners appear to have been singularly remiss, very little information having been given under that head. Nevertheless, we shall not differ with the learned authoress that the proceedings of the Commissioners were inquisitorial enough. Some few instances are mentioned where the returns relating to monasteries and religious houses are considered to have been partial from "pious motives." But there is nothing, so far as Wallingford is concerned, to suggest a suspicion of want of reliability.

This Survey, through the medium, we may presume, of a land tax, yielded a considerable addition to the royal revenue. According to Brady, it was raised to the sum of four hundred thousand pounds a year, which was computed by him to be

* Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 59.

upwards of five millions of our money. This, however, appears to be a low estimate, when we take the present value of money, according to the general opinion, at thirty times less than in the reign of the Conqueror. Besides this settled income, a large annual amount belonged to the king as perquisites, such as fines, forfeitures, licences, etc.; and then afterwards came the wholesale confiscation of property.

Wallingford must have contributed largely to this fund, if we are to take the full and detailed return in Domesday Book of the taxable property in the town as the basis of assessment. Altogether, we may not be disposed to join issue with Polydore Vergil, who quaintly remarks, "The main object of the Survey was to see of how much more wool the English flocks might be fleeced;" but to agree with those who give the king no credit for anything but self-interest, a sole desire to increase his own revenue, seems scarcely justified by the result, which has preserved to us an interesting recital of many important events, and a gigantic terrier of all the lands and feudatory holdings in the kingdom. As in the earlier times of King Alfred, so in a modified form in our own times, the importance of such a work has been recognized in the official records lately published, which may be called the third edition of Domesday.

The Survey was written on vellum, in two books, the Great and Little Domesday Book, the latter containing only the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Sussex. Three manuscripts appear to have been made, each of which was deposited in a separate place, for safety's sake. Another volume was compiled by order of the king, which differs from the others in form rather than in matter; and a fifth large volume is kept in the Exchequer, which is an abridgment of the others.

From one of these books the late John Gough Nichols, Esq., the famous antiquary and author, extracted the various passages relative to Wallingford, made a translation, and appended some explanatory notes. They were prepared, many years ago, as a supplement to Man's manuscript "Antiquities of Wallingford," which, under the auspices of the Berkshire Ashmolean Society, and with the able assistance of Dr. Allnatt, it was intended to publish. The work had not progressed beyond the printing of a few pages when the society collapsed, owing to the death of one of its most active

members, the late Mr. John Richards, of Reading, and consequently the intention was never carried out. I am greatly indebted to Messrs. Nichols for the gift of this printed matter, and the permission to utilize it. That portion which bears the authority of their late distinguished father's name, reappears, with a slight alteration, in the following pages; it is full of interesting information respecting Wallingford, and, with some further detail, shows that this borough was, as he states, the most important possession of the Crown within the county.

THE DOMESDAY SURVEY.

Domesday Book is very full in its information relative to Wallingford. The survey of Berkshire commences with an account of this borough, as the most important possession of the Crown within the county. Wallingford also occurs among the possessions of: 2. the Bishop of Winchester; 3. the Bishop of Salisbury; 4. the Abbey of Battle; 5. Walter Gifard; 6. Walter Fitz-Other; and 7. William Fitz-Corbucion. The various passages will now be extracted; a marginal translation is subjoined, and some explanatory notes are appended.

J. G. N.

I. TERRA REGIS WILLELMI.

In Burgo de Walingeford habuit Rex Edwardus viii. virgatas terræ, et in his erant cc.lxx.vi. hagæ reddentes xi. libras de gablo; et qui ibi manebant faciebant servitium regis cum equis vel per aquam usque ad Blidberiam, Reddinges, Sudtone, Besentone; et hoc facientibus dabat prepositus mercedem vel conredium, non de censu regis, sed de suo.

Modo sunt in ipso burgo consuetudines omnes ut ante fuere. Sed de hagiis sunt xiii. minus; pro castello sunt viii.

I. THE LAND OF KING WILLIAM.

In the borough of Wallingford King Edward had eight virgates of land, and upon them were two hundred and seventy-six closes, paying eleven pounds of rent; and they who dwelt thereon did the king service on horseback or by water, so far as Blewbury, Reading, Sutton, and Benson; and to those who performed this the reeve gave wages or corrody (victuals) not of the king's revenue, but of his own (i.e. of the revenue of the town, accruing to him as reeve).

There are now in the said borough all the accustomed services that there were heretofore. But of the closes there are thirteen less; eight

destructæ; et monetarius habet unam quietam quamdiu facit monetam. Saulf de Oxeneford habet unam. Filius Alsî de Ferendone unam, quam rex ei dedit ut dicit. Hunfridus Visdeleu habet unam, de qua reclamât regem ad warrantiam. Nigellus unam de Henrico per hæreditatem Soarding; sed burgenses testificantur se nunquam habuisse. De istis xiii. non habet rex consuetudinem; et adhuc Willelmus de Warene habet unam hagam, de qua rex non habet consuetudinem.

De super plus sunt xxii. masuræ francigenæ reddentes vi. solidos et v. denarios.

Rex Edwardus habuit xv. acras in quibus manebant huscules. Milo Crispin tenet eas, nesciunt quomodo. Una ex his jacet in Witeham, manerio Walterii Gifard.

Walchelinus episcopus habet xxvii. hagas, de xxv. solidis, et sunt appreciatæ in Bricsteuuelle manerio ejus.

Abbas de Abbendone habet ii. acras, in quibus sunt vii. masuræ de iiii. solidis, et pertinent ad Oxeneford.

Milo xx. masuras de xii. solidis et x. denariis, et jacent in Neuuenham; et iterum unam acram, in qua sunt vi. hagæ de xviii. denariis. In Haselie vii. masuras reddentes xliiii. denarios. In Estoche unam masuram de xii. denariis. In

have been destroyed to make room for the Castle; and the moneyer has one free so long as he makes money; Saulf of Oxford has one; the son of Alsî of Faringdon one, which, as he says, the king gave him; Humfrey Visdelew has one, for which he claims the king's warranty. Nigel one from Henry, by the inheritance of Soarding; but the burgesses testify that they never had it. (This probably means that it was not deemed to be situated within the burgh.) Of these thirteen the king has no service; and besides William de Warene has one close, of which the king has no service.

Moreover, there are twenty-two cottages without bounds, paying six shillings and five pence.

King Edward had fifteen acres, on which (his) household servants dwelt. Milo Crispin holds them, it is not known how. One of these lies in Wittenham, the manor of Walter Gifard.

Bishop Walchelin has twenty-seven closes, of twenty-five shillings (rent), and they are valued in Britwell, his manor.

The Abbot of Abingdon has two acres, in which are seven cottages of four shillings (rent), and they belong to Oxford(shire).

Milo (has) twenty cottages of twelve shillings and ten pence (rent) and they lie in Newnham, and also one acre, in which are six closes, of eighteen pence (rent). In Haseley six cottages, ruined, paying forty-four pence. In Stoke one cottage of twelve pence (rent). In Chalgrove one

Celgrave i. masuram de iiii. denariis. Et in Suttone una acra in qua sunt vi. masuræ de xii. denariis. Et in Braio una acra, et ibi xi. masuras de iii. solidis: Tota hæc terra pertinet ad Oxenefordscire; est tamen in Walengeford.

Rainaldus habet unam acram in qua sunt xi. masuræ de xxvi. denariis, et pertinet in Eldeberie, quæ est in Oxeneford.

Archiepiscopus vi. masuras de xxvi. denariis. Walterius Gifard habet unam acram et x. masuras de vi. solidis et iii. obolis. Robertus de Olgi iiii. masuras de xx. denariis. Gislebertus de Gand unam masuram de ii. denariis et obolo. Hugo magnus i. masuram de iiii. denariis. R. filius Seifridi ii. hagas de xii. denariis. Hugo de Molebec i. hagam de iiii. denariis. Rannulfus Peurel unam de iiii. denariis. Walterus filius Other vi. hagas de iiii. denariis et obolo minus. Willelmus Louet unum frustum terræ de iiij. denariis. In Eldeslei iii. masuræ de iii. denariis. v. masuras in Berchesire habet abbas de Labatailge de xx. denariis. i. haga quæ fuit episcopi Petri de iiii. denariis. Rex, iii. hagas de vi. denariis. Henricus de Ferrariis, vi. hagas, quæ tempore regis Edwardi et etiam tempore regis Willelmi dederunt lxii. denarios consuetudinaliter in firma regis; modo nichil dant.

cottage, in ruins, of four pence (rent), and in Sutton one acre, on which are six cottages, ruined, of twelve pence (rent). And in Bray one acre, and there eleven cottages, in ruins, of three shillings. All this land belongs to Oxfordshire; yet it is in Wallingford.

Rainald has one acre, on which are eleven cottages, now in ruins, of twenty-six pence (rent), and it belongs to Albury, which is in Oxford (shire).

The archbishop six ruined houses, of twenty-six pence (rent). Walter Gifard has one acre and ten cottages, ruined, of six shillings and three half-pence (rent). Robert de Olgi four cottages of twenty pence (rent). Gilbert de Gand one ruined cottage of twopence half-penny (rent). Hugh the great has one cottage of four pence. R(oger) son of Seifrid two closes of twelve pence. Hugh de Molebes one close of four pence. Rannulf Pevrel one of four pence. Walter son of Other six closes of four pence, less by a half-penny. William Lovet one piece of land of four pence. In Ilsley are three cottages of three pence (yearly value). Five cottages, in ruins, in Berkshire are possessed by the Abbot of Battle, of twenty pence (yearly value). There is one close which belonged to Bishop Peter, of four pence (yearly value). The king three closes of six pence. Henry de Ferrars six closes, which, in the time of King Edward, and also in the time of King William, customarily gave sixty-two pence in the king's rent, but now give nothing.

Episcopus Remigius i. hagam de iiii. denariis. Hugo comes i. hagam de xvi. denariis. Godric i. hagam de ii. denariis. Doda i. hagam de ii. denariis. Algar i. de ii. denariis. Fabri v. hagas de x. denariis. Rex in Ældremanestone ii. hagas de v. denariis. Comes Ebroicensis ii. hagas de ii. et obolo. Hugo Molebec i. hagam de ii. denariis. Rogerus de Laci i. hagam de xii. denariis. Robertus de Olgi i. hagam de vi. denariis. Rex i. hagam de vi. denariis. Episcopus Osmundus vii. hagas de xxviii. denariis. Robertus de Oilgi ii. hagas de x. denariis. Rogerus de Laci v. hagas de xxi. denariis. Radulfus Percehaie vii. hagas de l. denariis. Rainbaldus presbyter i. hagam de iiii. denariis. Sanctus Albanus i. hagam singa et est in calumnia. Bristist i. hagam de ii. denariis. Leueua i. hagam de ii. denariis. Goduinus i. hagam de ii. denariis. Aluunus i. hagam de ii. denariis. Ælmer presbyter et alius Elmer presbyter et Bruman et Eduui et Edmundus et Willelmus filius Osmundi et Leflet, et Lanbertus presbyter, Aluunold, et Godric habent gablum de domibus suis, et sanguinem si ibi effunditur; si receptus fuerit homo intus antequam calumnietur a præposito regis, excepto sabbato, propter mercatum, quia tunc rex habet forisfacturam; et de adulterio et latrocinio habent ipsi emendam in suis domibus. Aliæ vero forisfacturæ sunt regis.

Bishop Remigius (has) one close of four pence (yearly value). Earl Hugh one close of sixteen pence. Godric one close of two pence. Doda one close of two pence. Algar one of two pence. The smiths five closes of ten pence. The king in Aldermaston two closes of two pence half-penny. The Count of Evreux two closes of two pence half-penny. Hugh Molebec one close of two pence. Roger de Laci one close of twelve pence. Robert de Olgi one close of six pence. The king one close of six pence. Bishop Osmund seven closes of twenty-eight pence. Robert de Oilgi two closes of ten pence. Roger de Laci five closes of twenty-one pence. Ralph Percehaie seven closes of fifty pence. Rainbald, a priest, one close of four pence. (The Abbey of) St. Alban one close, and it is in dispute. Bristist one close of two pence. Leveua one close of two pence. Godwin one close of two pence. Alwin one close of two pence. Ælmer a priest, and another Ælmer a priest, and Bruman, and Edwi, and Edmund, and William son of Osmond, and Leflet, and Lambert a priest, Alwold, and Godric, have the gable-rent of their houses, and (forfeitures for) blood if it be shed therein, should the man be received within before he is charged by the king's reeve, except upon Saturday, on account of the market, because the king then has the forfeiture; and for adultery and robbery in their own houses they have the penalties. But other forfeitures are the king's.

Tempore regis Edwardi valebat xxx. libras, et post xl. libras; modo lx. libras; et tamen reddit de firma quater xx^u libras ad numerum. Quod pertinet ad Adbrei vii. solidos; et terra Milonis moli xxiii. Quod abbas de Abendone habet, viii. solidos. Quod Rogerus de Laci vii. solidos. Quod Rainaldus iii. solidos.

Hi subscripti taini de Oxenefordscire habuere terram in Walingeford—

Lanfranc archiepiscopus iii. domos in Niwetune (perten') reddentes vi. solidos. Remigius episcopus unam domum pertinentem ad Dorkecestre reddentem xii. denarios. Abbas de Sancto Albano unam domum de iii. solidis. R. abbas unam domum in Auuilma reddentem iii. solidos. Comes Hugo i. domum in Piritune reddentem iii. solidos. Walterus Gifard iii. domos in Caueresham reddentes ii. solidos. Robertus de Olgi ii. domos in Watelintune reddentes ii. solidos, et in Perie i. domum de ii. solidis. Ilbertus de Laci et Rogerus filius Seifridi et Orgar iii. domos de iii. solidis. Hugo de Bolebec iii^m domos in Crem reddentes iii. solidos. Hugo Grando de scoca i. domum de xii. denariis. Drogo in Sireburne et in Westune tres domos de iii. solidis. Robertus Armenteres in Auuilme i. domum de xii. denariis. Wazo unam domum in Auuilme reddentem iii. solidos.

In the time of King Edward (the borough) was worth thirty pounds, and afterwards forty pounds; now sixty pounds; and yet it pays of the firm four score pounds by tale. What belongs to Adbrey seven shillings; and the land of Milo of the mill (?) twenty-four. What the Abbot of Abingdon has, eight shillings. What Roger de Laci, seven shillings. What Rainald, four shillings.

The underwritten thanes of Oxfordshire have land in Wallingford—

Lanfranc the archbishop four houses in Newton, belonging (to the manor of Wallingford) paying six shillings. Remigius the bishop a house belonging to Dorchester, paying twelve pence. The Abbot of St. Albans a house of four shillings. R. the abbot a house in Ewelme paying three shillings. Earl Hugh one house in Pirton paying three shillings. Walter Gifard three houses in Caversham paying two shillings. Robert de Olgi two houses in Watlington paying two shillings, and in Piry one house of two shillings. Ilbert de Laci, and Robert son of Seifrid, and Olgar, three houses of four shillings. Hugh de Bolebec three houses in Crem paying three shillings. Hugh Grando de scoca one house of twelve pence. Drogo in Sherburne and in Weston three houses of four shillings. Robert Armenteres in Ewelme one house of twelve pence. Wazo one house in Ewelme paying three shillings.

Quando geldum dabatur tempore Regis Edwardi communiter per totam Berchesciram, dabat hida iii. denarios et obolum ante Natale Domini et tantumdem ad Pentecosten. Si rex mittebat alicubi exercitum, de v. hidis tantum unus miles ibat; et ad ejus victum vel stipendium de unaquaque hida dabantur ei iiii. solidi ad ii. menses. Hos vero denar' regi non mittebantur, sed militibus dabantur. Siquis in expeditionem summonitus non ibat, totam terram suam erga regem forisfaciebat. Quod siquis remanendi habens alium pro se mittere permetteretur, et tamen qui mittendus erat remaneret, pro l. solidis quietus erat dominus ejus. Tainus vel miles regis dominicus moriens, pro relevamento dimittebat regi omnia arma sua, et equum i. cum sella, alium sine sella. Quod si essent oi canes vel accipitres, presentabantur regi ut si vellet acciperet. Siquis occideret hominem pacem regis habentem, et corpus suum et omnem substantiam forisfaciebat erga regem. Qui per noctem effringebat civitatem c. solidos emendabat regi vel vicecomiti. Qui monitus ad stabiliationem venationis non ibat l. solidos regi emendabat ("Liber Domesday," fol. 56).

II. TERRA WINTONIENSIS EPISCOPI.

Harwelle. In Walengefort iii. hagæ de xv. denariis.

When geld was given in the time of King Edward generally throughout Berkshire, the hide used to give three pence and a halfpenny before Christmas, and the same at Whitsuntide. If the king sent an army elsewhere, for five hides one soldier only went; and for his victuals or wages of each hide four shillings were given to him, for two months. This money, however, was not sent to the king, but given to the soldiers. If any one summoned to an expedition went not, he forfeited all his land to the king. But if any one, having the privilege of staying at home, were permitted to send another in his place, and yet he who was to have been sent should stay, his lord was acquitted upon paying fifty shillings. A thane or knight of the king's demesne dying, left to the king, as a relief (of his land), all his arms, one horse with a saddle, and another without a saddle. But if he possessed dogs or hawks, they were offered to the king that he might take them if he pleased. If any one slew a man having the king's peace, he forfeited to the king both his body and all his property. He who broke out of the town by night, was fined one hundred shillings to the king or the sheriff. He who when summoned to the stalling of venison came not, was fined fifty shillings to the king.

II. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

Harwell. In Wallingford three closes of fifteen pence (rent).

Bristowelle. — de placitis terræ quæ in Walingeford huic manerio pertinet xxv. solidi (Fol. 58).

III. TERRA EPISCOPI SARISBERIENSIS.

Soninges. Rogerus presbyter tenet i. æcclesiam in Walengeford, quæ justè pertinet huic manerio (Ibid.).

IV. TERRA ÆCCLESIE DE LABATAILGE.

Bristoldestone. In Walengeford v. hagæ (Fol. 59 b, 2).

V. TERRA HENRICI DE FERIERES.

Witeham. In Warengesford viii. hagæ de iii. solidis (Fol. 60).

VI. TERRA WILLELMI FILII CORBUICION.

Mortune. — in Walengeford v. hagæ de l. denariis (Fol. 61).

VII. TERRA WALTERI FILII OTHER.

Ciltone. vi. hagæ in Warengesford de ii. solidis (Fol. 61 b).

Brightwell. — of the pleas of land which in Wallingford belongs to this manor, twenty-five shillings.

III. THE LAND OF THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Sonning. Roger the priest holds a church in Wallingford, which of right belongs to this manor.

IV. THE LAND OF THE CHURCH OF BATTLE.

Basildon. In Wallingford five closes.

V. THE LAND OF HENRY DE FERIERES.

Wittenham. In Wallingford eight closes of four shillings (rent).

VI. THE LAND OF WILLIAM SON OF CORBUICION.

Moreton. In Wallingford five closes of fifty pence (rent).

VII. THE LAND OF WALTER SON OF OTHER.

Chilton. Six closes in Wallingford of two shillings (rent).

In a translation by another author, most of the cottages mentioned in the foregoing extract are called houses in ruins, and the term "hagæ" is used instead of closes. This word, Dr. Brady notes, "is derived from the Saxon *haegh*, or house, which was commonly ditched or hedged about, whence our word hagæ or heg." It seems, therefore, to mean enclosed plots of ground upon which houses stood.

It is easy to see, from a cursory perusal of these extracts, that, at the time when the Survey was taken—say 1086—Wallingford was a place of no inconsiderable size. As the most important burgh, it appears first in the description of the county, which is written Berrochescire in the original document, and the following words, with which the description commences (except the initial letter), are run through by a red line, as if erased :—"In Burgo de Walingeford habuit Rex Edward." The object of the line was to direct particular attention to the passage. "This is peculiar to Domesday Book," says Colonel James, in his edition, and is equivalent to the modern method of underlining a passage for the same purpose.

In the Confessor's time, the burgh consisted of eight virgates of land, each of which is said to have comprehended forty acres, so that the total acreage would be three hundred and twenty. There seems, however, to be some doubt as regards the measures of land in Domesday; the hide, yardland, knight's fee, are terms more frequently used, which, according to Sir Henry Ellis, contained no certain number of acres, but varied in different places. The hide is generally supposed to be equal to one hundred and twenty acres, although by some it is reckoned as containing one hundred acres, by others ninety-six acres, and in the reign of Henry III. there are instances where it was reckoned at no more than sixty-four acres, and valued at forty shillings. As respects the number of houses in the town at the date of the Survey, Sir Henry Ellis, in his introduction to Domesday, gives particulars which make the total four hundred and ninety-one; thus, "In the time of Edward the Confessor the king had two hundred and seventy-six hægæ in the burgh of Wallingford." These had been reduced at the time of the Survey to two hundred and sixty-three; eight out of the thirteen which formed the deficiency had been removed to make way for the buildings of the Castle. "Fifty-eight hægæ and ninety-three masuræ are enumerated in Wallingford belonging to other persons, making a total of four hundred and fourteen, in the folio in which Wallingford is described. Forty-three hægæ in Wallingford are enumerated in folio 56 b, and two priests of the name Ælmer and eight other persons are said to have had the gable of their houses,—increasing the

number to four hundred and sixty-seven houses in Wallingford; besides those appertaining to different manors in Oxfordshire, to Newington, Dorchester, Watlington, Ewelme, etc., which are enumerated in other folios, to the number of twenty-four, making a final total of four hundred and ninety-one."

By way of comparison, it may be stated that Domesday gives to Windsor one hundred hagæ only, and to the town of Reading no more than twenty-eight (see folio 58); and when we bear in mind that the Danes had utterly destroyed Wallingford in 1006, we must arrive at the conclusion that its site possessed advantages so obvious, that a new town, larger than any in the county, was erected in the comparatively short space of about seventy years.

Another conclusion to be drawn from this Survey is that while it carefully registers the owners and occupiers of land and houses, the rents which were payable by different towns, and, in fact, gives all needful information for replenishing the exchequer, it presents but an imperfect view of the population, and leaves open the interesting question of the probable number of inhabitants Wallingford contained at the time the Survey was taken. As we know that people were huddled together at that period in large numbers under one roof, four hundred and ninety-one houses would yield a considerable population, although it is impossible to estimate the number at anything approaching correctness. But the chief object of the Survey was to impose a tax on the value of the lands and houses, and not a poll tax, which, looking at the condition of the lower classes in the reign of William, would have been out of the question. By the "lower classes" is meant the *servi*, or peasants and villeins, who were absolute slaves, to do such servile work and at such wages as the lord should choose, and they might be removed and sold at pleasure; hence we may account for the want of detail as respects the actual state of the population.

The Survey affords pedigree evidence, and shows that many of the estates held by Wigod in the time of the Confessor belonged to Robert d'Oyley in the time of the Conqueror, and afterwards to Miles Crispin, who married Robert's daughter, and is called Miles de Walingaford. There is a connection between the names of Wigod and those who suc-

ceded him, whereby the descent from father to daughter and granddaughter, and through them to their husbands, may be traced. Take, for instance, the county of Oxford, page 34: "Rob. de Oilgi holds Goring; Wigod held it in Edward's time;" so of Robert's Berkshire lands, page 62, part of which was held by Wigod under Edward the Confessor; so also his lands in Sussex were held by Wigod of the Confessor. Beckley, which belonged to the honour of Wallingford, is mentioned in the last will of King Alfred, as his hereditary property.* Osfer, the king's kinsman, afterwards owned it; but in the days of King Harold it belonged to "Wigot de Walingaford," and passed to his descendants on his death.

Miles de Walingaford appears more frequently as Wigod's successor than Robert d'Oyley. In Buckinghamshire, the manors of Shobbington, Ickford, and Chentone (Shenton) are all described as belonging to Miles at the time of the Survey, and to Wigod in the Confessor's time; and also one hide of land in Moslai hundred, which, in the reign of Edward, was held by Orduui, a vassal of Wigod's. So also in Oxfordshire: the manors of Gatehampton, Chesterton, and Cuxham belonged to Wigod in the time of the Saxon, and to Miles in the time of the Norman. And the same in Gloucestershire: Miles appears as the owner of three virgates of land in Bruerne, and one hide in Alderley, which Wigod held in the reign of the Confessor.

Many pages in the translations are occupied by a very brief description of Miles's possessions in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Gloucestershire, and Wiltshire; the two former counties alone extend over no less than eleven pages. Those in Oxfordshire embrace many villages abutting on or lying near to Wallingford, namely, Newnham Murren, North Stoke, Berrick Salome, Brightwell Salome, Cuxham, Chalgrove, Rotherfield, Gatehampton, Haseley, Aston Rowant, Kingston, Postcomb, Harpsden, Whitchurch, and Maple-Durham.

In Buckinghamshire he held large estates in the hundreds of Desborough, Stoke, and Burnham, which are the three Chiltern Hundreds, the stewardship of which is well known to be a nominal office accepted by any member of

* "Ælfredi M. Vita," p. 136.

Parliament who wishes to vacate his seat.* The origin of the office dates from an early period, when the Chiltern Hills were covered with beech forests, and infested by robbers and wild beasts, to put down which an officer was appointed by the Crown, called the Steward of the Chiltern Hundreds.† The appointment is in the gift of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a salary of twenty shillings, and being held to be a place of honour and profit under the Crown, is incompatible with a seat in the House of Commons.

Dugdale, in his "Baronage of England," summarizes the lordships of Miles Crispin at the time of the General Survey as follows, making the total number eighty-eight:—Seven lordships in Berkshire, twelve in Wiltshire, two in Surrey, three in Gloucestershire, three in Bedfordshire, twenty-eight in Buckinghamshire, thirty-three in Oxfordshire, and, he adds, "having wedded Maud, the daughter and heir of Robert Doiley, he had the honour of Wallingford, and made the Castle of Wallingford his principal seat."

One of the thirty-three lordships in Oxfordshire was that of Swynescumbe, near this place, which, with all the tithes of his demesne of the honour of Wallingford, was given, about the year 1087 (7 Henry I.), by Miles to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy,‡ which belonged to the order of Benedictine monks, and was one of the most famous in France. A large portion of its endowments were situate in the neighbourhood of Wallingford. It appears from entries in the Exeter Domesday Book that Wigod's western estates did not pass to Miles, "without the king taking a large toll of them to his own use."§ Miles was the third son of Gilbert Crispin, Baron of Bec, and a follower of the Conqueror in 1066.

But to return to Robert d'Oyley.

The enumeration of the holdings of this territorial proprietor also occupies many pages in Domesday; the baronies of Oxford and St. Valery, which were given to him by the Conqueror, were the most considerable. His ownership within a reasonable distance of Wallingford comprised sundry

* Lysons' "Magna Britannia," vol. vi. p. 452.

† Sharp's "British Gazetteer."

‡ "Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. ii. p. 954.

§ Freeman, vol. iv. p. 731.

hides of land in Watlington, Goring, Bicester, Chadlington, Water-Eaton, Hook-Norton, Drayton, Sherburn, Wheatfield, Lewknor, Heyford, Bucknell, Fritwell, Elsfield, Hardwick, Stratton Audley, Weston-on-the-Green, Bletchington, Ducklington, Baynton, Wood Perry, Rowesham, Ledwell, Ascot, Kincote, Kirklington, besides forty-two inhabited houses in Oxford, as well within the wall as without, and his possessions in Berkshire and elsewhere.

In Kelham's Domesday it is said of D'Oyley, that "he was so powerful a man in his time, that no one durst oppose him;" and by another author, that he stood so high in the estimation of the Conqueror, and was so beloved by him, that nothing of importance was undertaken which had not previously been submitted to the baron for his opinion. His name appears in many of the king's charters, as an attesting witness.

Besides the property which Walter Giffard and Roger de Laci held in Wallingford, as appears in Domesday, their holdings were extensive in the neighbourhood. Among them the former held, in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, ten hides in the adjoining parish of Craumares (Crowmarsh), the parish of Stoches (Stoke), twenty hides in Caversham, and the manors of Easington, Missenden, Fawley, Crendon, Kemble, Dorton, Wotton, Winchendon, and Whadden. Walter Giffard founded Notley Abbey, in Buckinghamshire; and to that abbey a large portion of the lands held under the honour of Wallingford afterwards belonged.*

Walter was the son of Osborne de Bolebec and Avelin his wife, sister to Gunnora, Duchess of Normandy, and great-grandmother of the Conqueror.†

Roger de Laci, who was the eldest son of Walter de Laci, and came over with the Conqueror, appears as the owner of one hundred and sixteen lordships, besides other lands, but siding with Odo, Earl of Kent, in behalf of Robert, Duke of Normandy, he was banished England, and all his lands were given to his brother Hugh. ‡

Many other names of renown and interest occur as owners of land in these parts, and among them, Goisfride de Manneville, Ralph de Mortimer, Henry de Ferieres, and Roger de

* "Rot. Hund.," 39 Henry III., vol. i. p. 23.

† Kelham's Domesday.

‡ Ibid., p. 50.

Ivery, to whom we have before referred as the holder of Beckley, Asthall, Fulbrook, and sundry lands in Islip and elsewhere.

Richard de Curci appears as the holder of the adjoining parish of Neuham (Newnham Murren). "Besides the inland, he has two hides and one virgate of the land of the villanes, and a fishery and a mill, meadow, coppices, etc.;" also in Checkendon he had twenty hides.

Mills and fisheries formed the more important sources of rent, noticed in the Survey. The payment was often in kind, and, in the case of fisheries, consisted chiefly in eels, herrings, or salmon.* The rent in eels was sometimes paid numerically, as at Dorchester, Oxon. Among the Bishop of Lincoln's dependents there, we find "Piscator redd. xxx. stich. anguill."† A stick was twenty-five eels.

Richard de Curci belonged to the family of that name in Normandy, and came over with the Conqueror.

Wigod's name, as stated before, is not mentioned in Domesday as a landowner at the time of the Survey; but two of his nephews are found there, and Alured, his grandson, is mentioned as a landowner in Stoke and Chakendon (Stokes and Checkendon).

Among the king's holdings are entered twelve hides and other lands, and two mills in Bensington.

The Abbey of Battle owned five hides in Craumares (Crowmarsh Battle), which Earl Harold held.

The Bishop of Lincoln is stated to be the holder of the manor of Dorchester, in the county of Oxford; and the "servants of the king" appear as possessors of sundry lands in Bensington, Ipsden, Brightwell, Assendon, Bix, Aston, etc., and also of land in Ropeford (Rofford, parish of Chalgrove), "which Robert de Oilgi has in mortgage."

It is obvious that the great men among whom the Conqueror divided so large a portion of the lands in England, and particularly in these parts, were Normans who had rendered to him military service, or were dependents, or who, like Wigod, stood high in his confidence. On them he conferred nearly all the places of honour and power, to the almost entire exclusion of Englishmen.

Between the time of the Survey and the year 1084 (18

* "Introduction to Domesday," by Ellis, p. 140. † Domesday, p. 155.

and 19 William I.), Robert d'Oyley married his only child—a daughter, Maude d'Oyley—to the large Domesday landowner, Miles Crispin, before mentioned. In right of his wife he had the custody of the Castle and town of Wallingford, with the honour, and then acquired the title of Miles of Wallingford, while his wife was known as the Lady of Wallingford.

Some genealogists have doubted whether this Maude was the daughter or granddaughter of Wigod. The marriage of Robert d'Oyley took place in or about the year 1066, and taking 1084 as the date of the marriage of his daughter, she could not have been more than eighteen years of age in the latter year, while her husband, who appears to have come over with the Conqueror in a military capacity, must have been much older. Neither Kelham nor Dugdale is decided on the point; the former (page 36) simply remarks, "Milo married the heiress of Wallingford, and had that honour in her right, which he made his chief seat." The extracts from Domesday, however, previously given, and nearly all the facts and the inquisition—set out *post, temp.* Henry II.—support the opinion of Sir Henry Ellis * and other authorities that Miles married the daughter and heiress of Robert d'Oyley.

Some time after the marriage, the king, keeping his Easter at Abingdon, was splendidly entertained by Robert d'Oyley, "while the only two guests who were admitted to sit at the king's table were Osmund, Bishop of Sarum, and Milo de Wallingford, cognomento Crispinus." † At the same time, his Majesty appointed Robert d'Oyley to oversee the tuition of his youngest son (afterwards Henry I.), who was left at Abingdon, to be educated at the convent of that place. ‡ Lysons § remarks, "The royal youth profited so much under his tutor that he obtained the appellation of Beauclerc, or Fine Scholar."

In the year 1085, the king founded the Benedictine Abbey of Battle, in Sussex, by the advice and direction of Remigius, Bishop of Dorchester, || and by charter granted to it, among other large possessions, the manor of Craumareis, now Crowmarsh, which adjoins this town on the opposite side of the

* Vol. i. p. 402.

† "Lib. Monas. Abendon."

‡ "Monasticon Anglicanum, vol. v. p. 15.

§ Lysons' "Berks," p. 220.

|| Matthew Paris.

river, and was afterwards rendered famous as the stronghold of King Stephen.

The mint at Wallingford continued in active operation during the reign of the Conqueror.

Sir Henry Ellis, in his manuscript letter, gives the following particulars:—

“We have the following coins of William I. struck at Wallingford:

“The king’s head, full-faced, crowned, with fillets pendant.

PILLEMV . REX . A . .

“*Reverse*—A figure saltire-wise, pointed with pearls, surmounted by a cross, voided; in the centre an annulet.

SPEARTLING . O . PAL.*

“Among the coins of William of the ‘Pax’ type, found at Beaworth (Hants), in 1833, the Museum has—

- No. 454. + PILLELMREX
+ IEGLDINE ON PAL
- No. 455. + PILILEMREX
+ IEGLDINE ON PAL
- No. 456. + PILLELM REX
+ IEGLDINE ON PAL
- No. 457. + PILLELMREX (barred crown)
+ IEGLDINE ON PAL
- No. 458. + PILLELMREX I
+ IEGLDINE ON PALI
- No. 459. + PILLEEMREX
+ IEGLDINE ON PALI
- No. 460. + PILILEMREX
+ IEGLDINE ON PALI
- No. 461. + PILLELMREX (barred crown)
+ SPIRTIC ON PALN
- No. 462. + PILLELM REX (beaded crown)
+ SPIRTIE ON PALN
- No. 463. + PILLELM REX
+ SPIRTIE ON PALNE
- No. 464. + PILLELMREX
+ SPIRTING ON PALI

“King’s head, full-faced, crowned; in right hand a sword.

“*Reverse*—Saltire-pointed, with treble knots, surmounted by a cross potent.

* Snelling, Plate I. No. 10.

No. 20. + WILLELM REX I
+ SPIRTING ON PAL

No. 21. + WILLELM REX I
+ SPERTING ON PALI

"These are the latest coins in our cabinets minted at Wallingford."

It will be observed that in the inscription on these coins, which are all silver pennies, the Saxon "p" takes the place of "W," Willelm Rex being spelt "Willelm Rex," and Wal and Wali, "pal" and "pali."

The place of mintage is also styled Weali and Well.*

In June, 1833, more than six thousand pennies of the Conqueror were discovered in a piece of pasture-ground at Bea worth, Hants, about a foot below the surface; they were deposited in an oblong box, having a small, plain semicircular iron handle, without any ornament or trace of inscription.† With the exception of about a hundred, the whole mass consisted of pieces with the "Pax" type, which means a period of peace; but as this period was considered to have been established on several occasions during the troublous reign of the Conqueror, the precise time of coinage is uncertain. Among the coins thus found were two hundred and thirty-seven of the mint of Wallingford, the names of the moneyers and mint appearing as follows:—

No. 122. ... IEGLPINE ... PAL
93. ... ——— ... PALI
16. ... SPIRTIE ... PALN
2. ... ——— ... PALNE
4. ... SPIRTINE ... PALI; or
SPERTINE ... PALI

Additions have been since made to this list in the cabinets of the British Museum, the moneyers' names being Æglwine (Æglwine), Brand, Sweartling or Swirting.

"In the bay window" (of Parham, Sussex), "is a helmet in the shape of an extinguisher, with a nasal, found in the ruins of Wallingford Castle."‡ This pointed form of helmet belongs to the time of the Conqueror. See illustrations in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xxviii. p. 203.

* Ruding, edit. 1819, vol. i. p. 415.

† Ibid., third edit., vol. i. p. 151.

‡ "Sussex Archæological Collections," vol. xxv. p. 4.

CHAPTER VIII.

WILLIAM II. TO HENRY II.—1087 TO 1154.

William Rufus.

THE Conqueror died in September, 1087, having, by his will, bequeathed the kingdom to his second son, William Rufus, warning him to be "louynge and lyberell" to his people. This virtue, although by no means conspicuous in the character of the king, seems to have been exceptionally exercised in favour of the D'Oyley family, for on the death of Robert, who survived his royal patron only three years, and died in September, 1090, without male issue, those of his domains which were granted to him by the Conqueror reverted to the Crown, and were by royal favour conferred on his brother Nigel, who became second Baron Hock-Norton, Constable of Oxford Castle, and officiating Constable of all England, under the king.

Robert d'Oyley was buried on the north side of the high altar of Abingdon Abbey, and on the death of his wife, Aldgitha, her remains were interred at his left side.

A.D. 1092, 5 and 6 William Rufus. Upon the translation of the see of Dorchester to Lincoln, the new Cathedral Church in that city was to be dedicated on the seventh of the ides of May; but two days before the appointed time Bishop Remigius died, and the solemnity was postponed. His death is by writers imputed "to a judgment of God upon his simony and corruption."* Kennett states that "the king would have kept this bishopric in his hands, as he did other revenues of the church; but, being struck into a better sense of religion by a long sickness at Alvaston and Gloucester, he gave this see to his chancellor, Robert Bloet, on the first Sunday in Lent in the following year—1093."†

* "Simeon of Durham," p. 217.

† Kennett, p. 100.

In this reign, Wallingford market, which is mentioned in the Norman Survey, was held by prescription on Saturdays; it was afterwards changed to Sunday, and was continued to be held on that day for upwards of a century, when, by a royal proclamation, dated 1218—2 Henry III.—Monday was substituted. In after times, Tuesdays and Fridays were the appointed days, but the market on the former day becoming very inconsiderable, it fell into disuse, and that held on Friday, which is principally for the sale of corn, is now alone continued.

The custom of holding the market at Wallingford on Sunday was not peculiar to the town. The fair as well as the market partook of a religious character, and was generally kept on a Sunday in most places, or, if not on that day, on some other high festival. The place of sale was in the immediate vicinity of the church, often in the churchyard, where the wandering friars preached to the crowd. Here the various classes who had flocked together either for business, or for pleasure, or for pillage, were invited to enter and worship in the sacred building, the door of which was always kept open. As time rolled on, this blending of the sacred and secular was extended, and we read not only of markets having been commonly held in churches, but plays enacted therein, while tournaments were held in the churchyard. Great abuses resulted from this state of things, and ultimately the custom was abolished. Towards the end of the reign of Henry III., the papal legate decreed that no market should be held in churches, and that no traffic or merchandise should be practised therein; and in the third year of the reign of Edward I., an Act of Parliament was passed which declared that neither fairs nor markets should be kept in churchyards; and so late as the reign of James I., one of the Canons (88, of 1603) directs the "churchwardens or questmen, and their assistants, to suffer no plays, feasts, banquets, suppers, church ales, drinkings, temporal courts or leets, lay juries, musters, or other profane usage, to be kept in the church, chapel, or churchyard."* The market cross, which now so often excites our veneration in town and village, marks the spot where itinerant merchantmen were wont to meet, and itinerant friars to preach.

* Chronicles of Abingdon, edited by Rev. Jos. Stevenson, M.A.

That the market and fair were valuable and much-prized institutions will be seen by the pertinacity with which the inhabitants of Wallingford endeavoured to extend their right of free merchandise into the town of Abingdon—an assumed right, which met with the most determined opposition from the monks of the abbey, who set up an exclusive privilege of a fair within the town. The particulars are given under the reign of Henry II., when the conflict between the two bodies not only led to litigation, but was sufficiently serious to require the intercession of the king. The contest, however, between Wallingford and Abingdon may be said to have commenced, if not in this reign (William Rufus), very soon afterwards, for we find, just after the accession of Henry I., that the king was led to believe that the abbey had no legal right to the exclusive privilege of the fair; but, after a shallow investigation, royalty accepted a bribe offered by the abbot, and granted a charter,* under which the privilege was retained till the accession of Henry II., when the conflict again broke out.

Four annual fairs were formerly held in the town—on the Tuesday before Easter, Midsummer Day, Michaelmas Day, and the 17th of December. By charter of Henry VII., the days were altered. They have all fallen into disuse, except the statute fair at Michaelmas, which is principally for hiring servants, and that bears evident signs of decay.

A.D. 1098. Hugh de Grentmaisnil, the father of Adeline, who married Roger de Ivery and was now a widow, died about this time, and for his piety in giving the Church of Charlton, near this place, and sundry lands within the parish, to the Abbey of St. Evroul, at Uticum, in Normandy, was invested in the habit of a monk when he lay sick, and prepared for death by Jeffery, the prior, who had been sent over for that purpose by the abbot. On his death, two monks of the abbey salted his body, and carried it into Normandy, where it was honourably buried in the chapter house of the abbey. Robert, an elder brother of this Hugh, had a daughter named Agnes, who married Robert de Molines, the Norman, to whom we shall have occasion to refer hereafter.†

* "Chron. of the Monastery of Abingdon," vol. ii. p. 81.

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," vol. i. p. 425. Kennett, vol. i. p. 101.

A.D. 1100, 13 William Rufus. Robert, son of Nigel d'Oyley, was another benefactor to the Church in the next year. He gave the tithes of Chesterton, which adjoins Bicester, and belonged to the honour of Wallingford, to the new conventual church of Gloucester, which had been rebuilt by Serlo, the abbot, and was dedicated on Sunday, the 7th of July.

In less than a month afterwards, William Rufus was killed in his New Forest. His reign of thirteen years is singularly barren of information respecting Wallingford, probably owing to the scanty nature of the recorded events.

Coins were minted at Wallingford in this reign, the place being styled Wal, Walice, Walig.* But although the son soon dissipated the immense wealth which his father had accumulated, it appears he coined but little money.

It is said that the coins struck by this monarch cannot be satisfactorily discriminated from those struck in the reign of the Conqueror.

Henry I.

A.D. 1105, 5 and 6 Henry I.

It was in this year that Miles Crispin, lord of the honour of Wallingford, gave the tithes of his demesne lands within the honour to the Abbey of Bec, as before observed; and just before his death, which took place in 1107, he gave sundry lands to Faritius, Abbot of Abingdon, for services rendered to him during his last sickness, to which Bishop Kennett, in his "Parochial Antiquities," † refers as follows:—

"Milo Crispin lay sick in his Castle of Wallingford, and having many good offices done to him in his sickness by Faritius, Abbot of Abbendon, as a reward he gave to his abbey a public inn and half a hide of land at Colnbrook, on the road to London; and sent Gilbert Pipard, his steward, and Warrine, his chaplain, to Abbendon, to lay the said donation on the altar of St. Mary, in the presence of the abbot and the whole convent. But before the end of the year (1107), this great baron, Milo Crispin, died without issue; upon which his own proper estate reverted to the Crown, but the Castle and whole honour of Wallingford remained, in right of birth,

* Ruding.

† Page 105.

to Mand, his widow, who from hence was called Matildis Domina de Walingfort."*

A.D. 1109. The family of Basset was one of considerable distinction in connection with Wallingford. It sprang from Ralph Basset, who was Justice of England, and had a large estate in the county of Oxford, and who, it is said, was raised to his high office from a very mean condition.† His younger son, Gilbert Basset, had seven knights' fees of the honour of Wallingford granted to him during the time of Miles Crispin. They consisted ‡ of the manors of Coleman and Uxbridge, in Middlesex; Picheleshorne, Burncestre (Bicester), Stratton, and Wrechewike, in the county of Oxford; Ardington, in Berks; and Compton, in Wilts. The possession of so many knights' fees shows the extent of military service which the holder was prepared to render; and as a feudatory vassal of Brien Fitzcount, a baron of great valour and renown, who is mentioned in a subsequent page, he was present in most of the encounters hereafter recorded, and throughout zealously adhered to his superior lord.

At about the time above named (1109), Gilbert Basset gave two parts of his tithe of Stratton, with the whole tithe of his wool and cheese in all his lands, to the Abbey of Ensham, in the county of Oxford, to which the judge had also been a benefactor. These donations, with the tithe of Thame, Banbury, and other places, were afterwards confirmed by royal charter.

The judge gave to his son Ralph, who was a clerk or chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, all his right of advowson to churches and chapels within his demesne; which right Ralph afterwards gave to the Abbey of Osney, in the county of Oxford, of which he entered himself a monk.

In this reign, the names of Ralph Basset and Richard Basset appear as "justices itinerant, to hear and determine criminal and civil pleas,"§ in certain specified counties. According to Foss they were, perhaps, Justiciaries of England.

Another member of the family, Osmund Basset, in the year

* *Monasticon Anglicanum*, tom. i. p. 582 a.

† "History and Antiquities of Bicester," by John Dunkin.

‡ Kennett, vol. i. pp. 162, 163.

§ Madox, "History of the Exchequer," vol. i. p. 146.

1117, had a grant from Brien Fitzcount, lord of the manor of Wallingford, of one knight's fee, with its appurtenances, in Oakly, nigh adjoining to Brill, in the county of Bucks, and the fourth part of one knight's fee in Aspeden, by a special charter, confirmed by King Henry I., which lands descended to John Basset, son of the said Osmund, and then to William Basset, son of the said John, to whom and his heirs they were confirmed by King John, in the eighth year of his reign.*

A.D. 1112. About this time the family of Ivery, before mentioned, became extinct, in the direct line, by the death, without issue, of Jeffery de Ivery, who was Lord of Ambrosden, Beckley, and other places; whereupon his barony fell to the king, and was soon after bestowed on Guy de St. Walery, said to be the son or younger brother of Ranulph de St. Walery, who came over with the Conqueror, with the said Roger de Ivery. From the new possessor, a new name was given to the above barony, and it was afterwards called the honour of St. Walery.

Six years appear to have elapsed before the second marriage of Maud of Wallingford. No female heiress was allowed to marry without the king's consent, and although that consent was frequently only to be obtained by the payment of a large sum of money, we may suppose the object was to prevent imprudent marriages, and, in the case of a second marriage, to exercise the veto, if a suitable time had not intervened after the death of the first husband. The law in this respect afterwards became less stringent, and a reasonable statutory provision was made, from which, probably, the customary restriction that now generally prevails may have had its origin.

"Let every widow," says the Anglo-Saxon law, "remain for a twelvemonth without a husband, then let her do her pleasure. But if within the year she choose a husband, let her forfeit the morgengyfa, and all the property she had through her first husband, and let her nearest kin take her land and property she had before."

It was about A.D. 1113 that Maud de Wallingford was, by King Henry, given in marriage to Brien Fitzcount, who thus became possessed of the honour of Wallingford, and all

* Rog. Dodsworth, MS., vol. iii. fol. 13.

her large inheritance, out of which he paid a fine to the king of £166 13*s.* 4*d.* for permission to hold the office of Constable of the Castle, and part of the lands of Nigel d'Oyley. "*Et idem Brientius filius comitis debet clxviⁱⁱ xiiiⁱ et iiij^d pro ministerio et parte terræ Nigelli de Oilie.*"* He also became lord of the fee of Burcester, within the honour. From his name of Fitzcount, Daniel supposes him to have been the son of the Earl of Gloucester; but if he was married to Matilda at the time above mentioned, he must have been nearly as old as the earl himself. In the Saxon Chronicle† he is called Brien, son of Count (of Brittany) Alain Tergent. According to the "Itinerary of Archbishop Baldwin through Wales, A.D. 1188," translated by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, Bart., this Brien, called also Brien de Insula, was a nephew of Hameline, eldest son of Dru de Baladon, and, through him, became possessed of the castle of Abergavenny, and all Overwent, in Wales. It would also appear‡ that he inherited, from an uncle named Brien, a considerable estate in Cornwall; and it has been suggested that some family alliance must have taken place, which gave rise to the subsequent connection between the earldom of Cornwall and the honour of Wallingford, which continued for nearly four centuries, down to the reign of Henry VIII., by whom they were at length separated.

Bishop Kennett enters fully into the question of pedigree, which has been a fruitful source of controversy, in pages 114, 115, and 116 of the first volume of his work.

In the "Catalogue of Princes," by Raphe Brook, it is stated in reference to Robert, Earl of Gloucester, base son of King Henry I., who took part with the empress against King Stephen, the usurper, that he had, "as William of Malmesbury saith, in his reports of the year 1127, a base son named Brian, which was Marquess of Wallingford, which Brian we do often find in record by the name of Brian filius comitis, Lord of Wallingford."

The military exploits of this great warrior on behalf of the Empress Maud, in successfully repelling the repeated

* Rot., 14 b, Title Warengesford; Madox, "History of the Exchequer," fol. 361.

† Translation, p. 223.

‡ "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. ii. p. 702.

assaults of King Stephen on the Castle of Wallingford, are fully described under that reign.

In the year 1119, Nigel d'Oyley died, and left his barony and castle of Oxford to his son, Robert d'Oyley, nephew of the first of that name. He married,* about this time, Edith Forne, a beautiful concubine of the king; and nine years afterwards they began to build the Abbey of Osney, for the use of Augustinian canons. It is said this pious work was undertaken at the solicitation of the wife, to expiate the sins of her former unchaste life; but Freeman, remarking that he knows not on what authority she is said to have been a mistress of Henry I., adds, "Their names live in local history as the founders of that great Abbey of Osney, which was for a moment the cathedral church of the bishopric, whose throne is now hidden in the elder Minster of St. Fritheswyth."

They left two sons, Henry and Gilbert.

In this year the king made an enclosed park † at his palace at Woodstock, which is said to have been the first park made in England.

Under date A.D. 1124, it is recited in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ‡ that "after St. Andrew's Mass (November 30) before Christmas, Ralph Basset and the king's thanes held a court at Huncot, in Leicestershire, and there hanged so many thieves, as never were before, that was, in that little while, altogether four and forty men, and six men were deprived of their eyes, and emasculated."

And in the following year the king sent from Normandy to England, and commanded that all the moneyers that were in England should be deprived of their right hands, and subjected to other torture, because "the man that had a pound could not buy for a penny at a market." Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, directed the execution of the sentences, taking the moneyers one by one, against whom another allegation was that they had enriched themselves by issuing false money. No one, it would seem, escaped; and the fact that the coins struck at Wallingford in this reign bear the name of a new moneyer, Osulf, is so far corroborative of the chronicler, and suggests the probability that his predecessor was among the condemned.

* "Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. i. p. 251; Kennett, vol. i. p. 119.

† Hen. de Knighton, p. 2382.

‡ Translation, p. 221.

The name of another distinguished family occurs in this reign. We read of the marriage of Robert de Molines, whose descendants held high positions and large possessions in the town and neighbourhood. This Robert was a Norman, who, disobeying the commands of King Henry I., was banished out of Normandy, and died in Apulia.

The Abbey of Reading was built by the king about the year 1125, and the charter of endowment was witnessed by Brien Fitzcount, "lord of the honour of Wallingford, and of the fee of Burcester." The legend round the seal is, "Signum Brientii filii comitis de Warengaford."*

"All this year (1126) King Henry was in Normandy, until quite after autumn; then he came to this land betwixt the nativity of St. Mary (September 8) and Michaelmas (September 29). With him came the queen, and his daughter, whom he had formerly given to wife to the Emperor Henry of Lorraine.† And he brought with him Count Waleram, and Hugh Fitz Gervase; and the count he sent to Bridgenorth in durance, and thence afterwards to Wallingford, and Hugh to Windsor, and caused him to be put in hard bonds. And then, after Michaelmas, came David the Scots king from Scotland to this land; and King Henry received him with great worship, and he then abode all that year in this land."‡

A.D. 1127. "The king kept his Lent and Easter at Woodstock, and Whitsuntide at Windsor, where David, King of Scotland, and all the English barons sware allegiance to Mand, the king's daughter, the emperor's widow, who had been brought over in September the year preceding§; and was now sent into Normandy, with the attendance of Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Brien Fitzcount, Lord of Wallingford,|| where she was married to Jeffery, son of Fulk, Earl of Anjou; a match carried on chiefly by the counsel and interest of the said Brien Fitzcount."¶

Among the witnesses to a charter of confirmation of the Church of St. Mary, Dover, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1131, was Brien Fitzcount, "lord of the honour of Wal-

* "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. i. p. 418 b.

† Henry V.

‡ Saxon Chronicle, p. 222, A.D. 1126.

§ William of Malmesbury, p. 174.

|| Saxon Chronicle, sub an.

¶ Kennett, vol. i. p. 121.

lingford," etc. "He was a great favourite of this prince, and a constant attendant on him." *

A large number of charters and legal documents were dated at Wallingford in this reign, and among them are several relating to the Abbey of Abingdon, but in neither instance is the date given; two of them refer to the market dispute between Wallingford and Abingdon, and the passage of vessels on the Thames.

A.D. 1131. The following is from the Great Roll of the Exchequer, 31 Henry I., and not 5 King Stephen, as erroneously supposed. A note in my possession, in the handwriting of the late John Gough Nichols, is to the following effect:—

"Note D, page 11, from the Great Roll, 31 Henry I.

"The Roll quoted in this page as that of the 5 Stephen, has been now ascertained to belong to the 31st Henry I. It is the most ancient record of the Exchequer, and was published entire by the Record Commission in 1833. It may be remarked that the passage relating to Wallingford was one of those upon which the opinion was founded that the Roll belonged to the 5th Stephen. But it is shown in the preface that the words, 'tercio anno,' did not imply the third year of the king's reign, but merely the third year, reckoning backwards. It will be perceived that the correction of the date removes the supposed anachronism of Brien Fitzcount mentioned in the text. The account in the Roll rendered for Wallingford is as follows:—

"WARENGEFORD. ROT. 31, HENRY I., p. 139.

"Brientius filius comitis reddit compotum de firma de Warengesford. In thesauro xxxixⁿ et xiiiⁿ et iiij^d bl.

"Et in liberationibus constitutis lxxviⁿ et ob.

"Et in quietatione domus Emmæ de Hamesteda iiij et x^d numero.

"Et debet ixⁿ et xvjⁿ et x^d bl.

"Et idem reddit compotum de cⁿ de gersoma pro palleo preteriti anni. In thesauro liberavit. Et quietus est.

"Et idem debet cⁿ pro palleo hujus anni de gersoma.

"Et idem reddit compotum de xvⁿ de veteri auxilio burgi tercii anni. In pardona per breve Regis burgensibus de Warengesford xvⁿ pro paupertate eorum. Et quietus est.

* "Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. ii. p. 4.

“Et idem reddit compotum de xvⁿ de auxilio burgi preteriti anni. In pardona per breve Regis burgensibus de Warengford xvⁿ pro paupertate eorum. Et quietus est.

“Et idem reddit compotum de xvⁿ de novo auxilio burgi. In pardona per breve Regis burgensibus de Warengford xvⁿ pro paupertate eorum. Et quietus est.

“Et idem Brientius debet clxvjⁿ et xiiijⁿ et iiijⁿ pro ministerio et parte terræ Nigelli de Oilie.”

Wallingford. Pipe Roll 31 Henry I.

Brien Fitzcount renders account for the fee farm of Wallingford. In the Treasury £39 13s. 4d. in white money. And in the constituted liveries 76 shillings and a half-penny.

And in acquittance for the house of Emma de Hampstead 3s. and 10d. by tale.

And owes £9 16s. 10d. white money.

And the same renders account for 100 shillings, customary offering for last year's cloak. He paid it into the Treasury, and is quit.

And the same owes 100 shillings for the cloak of this year, customary offering (fine).

And the same renders account for £15, the old aid of the borough for the third year, counting back. In pardon by the king's writ to the burgesses of Wallingford, £15, on account of their poverty, and (for this) he is quit.

And the same gives account for £15 for the aid of the borough for last year. In pardon by the king's writ to the burgesses of Wallingford, £15, on account of their poverty. And he is quit.

And the same gives account for £15 of new aid of the borough. In pardon by the king's writ to the burgesses of Wallingford, £15, on account of their poverty, and (for this) he is quit.

And the same Brien owes for £166 13s. 4d., for his office and part of the lands of Nigel de Oilli.

The coins of Henry I., minted at Wallingford, bear the name Welligl, Welligli, Welling, the name of the moneyer being, as before stated, Osulf.

King Stephen.

The authorities chiefly relied on for the particulars embraced in the reign of King Stephen are—"The Acts of King Stephen," by an anonymous author, a partisan of the king's, and contemporaneous with Huntingdon, whose bias lay in the opposite direction; Henry of Huntingdon; Matthew Paris; William of Malmesbury; Chronicle of Jos. Brompton; Chronicle of Gervase; Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; Speed; Rapin; Kennett's "Parochial Antiquities;" Lyttelton's "History of Henry II.;" Henry's "Great Britain;" Daniel's "History of England;" Freeman's "Norman Conquest;" Strickland's "Lives of the Queens of England."

A.D. 1135, 1 King Stephen.

On the death of Henry I., in 1132, Stephen usurped the throne, in violation of the oath he had taken of allegiance to Matilda, the late king's daughter, on whom her father had resolved to settle the crown. In order to support his usurpation, he took possession of many of the existing castles, and built others in various parts of his dominions. Among the latter was that of Reading. One of his first acts after he had got himself crowned was to call together a general Council at Oxford, where, by charter, he solemnly confirmed* the liberties of the Church and laws of the land. This charter was witnessed by Brien Fitzcount, Constable of Wallingford, and Robert d'Oyley;† but the king disregarded its obligations, and nineteen years of anarchy ensued. Although we read of the taking and retaking of castles, and general confusion, particularly in the southern and central districts of England, Wallingford is not brought into notice, as playing any important part in the early stages of the civil war, and the only incident to be recorded is the founding of the Monastery of Godstow, near Oxford, in 1138, by Edith, wife of Robert d'Oyley; the latter, with Nigel his brother, being contributors to its revenues. At the laying of the foundation stone,‡ Stephen and his queen, Maud, with their son, Eustace, were present.

After the lapse of a few years, Wallingford became the

* Jos. Brompton, p. 1024.

† Richard of Hexham, p. 315.

‡ Kennett, vol. i. p. 129.

famous centre of operations in the attempt to recover the lost inheritance.

On the 30th of September, 1139, the Empress Matilda (Maud), the daughter of Henry I., and widow of Henry V. of Germany, came to England with her half-brother, Robert, Earl of Gloucester, to whose care the king had committed her, to prosecute the right of succession of herself and her son, afterwards Henry II. Brien Fitzcount had shared, with Robert of Gloucester, the duty of accompanying Matilda (Maud) over the sea, preparatory to her second marriage (*ante*, p. 229), and now so strongly was he attached to the cause of the empress, that he declared on her behalf immediately she arrived, and, as we shall see hereafter, his heroic and successful defence of the Castle of Wallingford against the repeated and determined attacks of King Stephen place him in the highest ranks of great and distinguished generals. Leaving his sister at Arundel, the earl, by night, made his way, with a small attendance, to Bristol, where the barons of England were entreated to aid the cause of the empress. Stephen, when he heard of her arrival, was battering the walls of Marlborough Castle, and, according to some authorities, hastened to Bristol, and then to Arundel, seeking to crush his foe. He seems to have reached the latter place when Matilda was shut up there with insufficient protection, but for some motive or other, as to the nature of which opinions differ, the empress was allowed a free passage to her brother, and followed him to Bristol. While she was there, many of the king's party, some of whom had been his sworn confederates, while others had paid him a faithless and hollow submission, broke their oaths of fealty, and came over to the earl and empress, and the claim she asserted met with general support.

We next trace the earl at Wallingford Castle, concerting measures, with Brien Fitzcount and Miles of Gloucester, for securing that stronghold and the town for the empress. Brien had already strongly fortified the place, and secured the adhesion of all the neighbouring people, and, with a numerous body of troops, he broke into active and determined rebellion against the king. The flag of defiance which Brien had raised brought the king at once to Wallingford. Unappalled by the adverse tide that had set in against him, Stephen collected his forces into a powerful army, and marched to

that place, proposing to reduce it by a close blockade, but its great strength frustrated his design. His barons asserted, says the author of "The Acts of King Stephen," "as the fact was, that the Castle was so strongly fortified as to defy an assault from any quarter; that it was stored with provisions for the supply of many years; that it was garrisoned by troops in the flower of youth, and confident in their strength; and that he could not maintain his present position without the greatest peril, as his army was both liable to daily assaults by the garrison of the castle, and it was also exposed to open or secret attacks from the enemy, who were in arms against him on all sides." They therefore counselled the king that, having erected two forts opposite the Castle at Crowmarsh, and placed in them a sufficient number of troops to maintain a blockade, he should divert his attention to other quarters. He therefore marched with the utmost expedition towards the town of Trowbridge, which Humphrey de Mohun, by the advice and at the instigation of Miles, had fortified with impregnable works against the king. In the course of his march he had the good fortune to take by assault the castle of Cerne, which Miles had built to encourage the insurrection; and also to receive the surrender of the strongly fortified town of Malmesbury, in which he took prisoner Robert Fitz-Hubert, with his followers. But now the changing fortune of war favoured the bold and active Miles, who, while the king was on his march to Trowbridge, rode to Wallingford by night, with a chosen body of soldiers, and fell with so much impetuosity on the troops left at Crowmarsh by the king, that they were forced to yield; so that some being slain, and others wounded and made prisoners, and bound with fetters, he returned to his own castle with the glory of a brilliant victory. "This severe reverse to the king's troops at that spot may," adds the author, "clearly be attributed to his having converted the church from a seat of religion and house of prayer into a fortified post, and allowed it to be made a place of war and slaughter."

Thus it would seem that, in addition to the forts referred to, the adjoining parish church was desecrated, and made to answer a like purpose. The outer door, which, till a few years ago, was attached to the interesting Norman entrance at the west end, bore the trace of perforation as if made by a

cannon-ball, but as cannons were not in use till the fourteenth century, and bombards for discharging stones till about a century earlier, it is probable the perforation spoken of has nothing to do with the war at the period mentioned.

The forts are designated by Matthew Paris, "a castle which, from its position, was deemed impregnable." They were erected in a close in the parish of Crowmarsh, then and now called Barbican, which signifies a watch-tower. This close, or meadow, adjoins the church, abuts on the north-east on the bridge over the Thames, and is immediately opposite the Castle of Wallingford. There is little doubt that these forts were considerably strengthened from time to time. In Dr. Brady's treatise of cities and burghs, the description runs thus, "Craumersa is a village or small place over against Wallingford Castle or the town, where there was an anti-castle or fortress built, to restrain and keep in the garrison in that Castle in the time of King Stephen; this appears" (he wrote in 1771) "by the great ditches and trenches to be seen before the place where the great castle gate was." The ground still exhibits the traces of trenches, which, if not those spoken of, may have been dug by Henry II., when he laid siege to Crowmarsh, as after mentioned. Dr. Plot ascribes the erection of the first defences at Crowmarsh, which he terms wooden towers, to Stephen, in the year 1139, and at another siege of Wallingford he refers to a more important fortification, which he calls "The Castle of Crowmarsh," as having been built by Stephen, A.D. 1153.

Thus commenced the most stirring epoch, in a contest between the two competitors for the crown, which for many years involved the whole nation, and particularly this town, in civil war, and stamped the years 1140-41 as being the most calamitous that had ever been seen in England. One cannot help observing that, had the empress not been so tardy in asserting her claim to the crown, and allowed the critical moment to slip, she might by prompt and energetic measures have gained the prize which she sought. But she did not arrive till Stephen had made himself master of most of the castles in England, Wallingford being one of those which does not appear to have fallen into his hands. Possibly, Stephen, relying on his supposed strength, extended to his rival the customary courtesy of true knighthood, by

allowing her a safe passage to her brother, as Malmesbury suggests.

A.D. 1140. According to the *Chronicon Gervasii*,* the king in this year went to Reading, designing to force the Castle of Wallingford to surrender, but not being able to effect it, he marched to Ely. A crowd of revolts, of marches, and sieges† followed the frustrated design on Wallingford, with the usual accompaniment of pillaging and burning, till at length Lincoln was approached, where the famous battle on the 2nd of February, 1141, took place.

Matilda, says Rapin,‡ being too closely pent up at Wallingford, found means to get from thence and retire to Lincoln. Stephen formed the design of surprising her, and would have taken his rival at that place had she not contrived to escape whilst the articles of capitulation were drawing. Stephen and the Earl of Gloucester were left alone, and commanded their troops in person. Success attended the earl, the city was sacked, and the king taken prisoner. He was conducted to the empress at Gloucester, who ordered him to be confined in the castle of Bristol, where he was treated with great indignity, being placed in close confinement and loaded with chains.

Castle after castle, district after district, says Freeman, were now won for Earl Robert and his sister, and Matilda was in actual possession of by far the greater part of England. Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester, cardinal legate, who was Stephen's brother, had joined her soon after the battle, and at his city she was proclaimed queen.§ For eight months she was acknowledged as sovereign by a large part of the nation, and appears to have borne the title of queen, though she was never crowned, and Stephen, though a prisoner, never abdicated. Freeman, however, states that she was not actually called "queen," but "lady."

A.D. 1141. In June, Matilda reached London, where her haughtiness gave offence to the citizens. A conspiracy was entered into to seize her person, and she saved herself from the danger by a precipitate retreat.|| She went to Reading. There Robert d'Oyley came to her, and made conditions for

* Page 1350.

† Rapin, vol. i. p. 206, from William of Malmesbury.

‡ Vol. i. p. 205.

§ Hume, vol. i. p. 311.

|| Hume, p. 312.

delivering up his castle of Oxford.* Thither the empress went pursuant to the agreement, took possession of the castle, and received the homage of the city, by which means she had in subjection all the adjacent country. Henry of Huntingdon imputes to the weakness of D'Oyley the surrender of the city, and tells us† that this Robert d'Oyley, who was Warden of Oxford under the king, with whom he associates the Earl of Warwick, were weak men, more addicted to pleasure than gifted with courage; and Matthew Paris observes that this Robert, for his surrendering of Oxford, had the character of a soft man, that abounded in the delights of the world more than in true virtue. It would seem, however, from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ‡ that the earls and the great men who were instrumental in bringing about the agreement with the empress, "took her to Oxford and gave her the burgh." This acquisition of the castle of Oxford precedes an event that brings Wallingford more prominently into notice.

In order to secure the territory of which Oxford was the centre, the empress caused garrisons to be fixed in several of the nearest castles, which were not under her control, particularly at Cirencester, Woodstock, Radcot, and Bampton,§ and to the Bishop of Winchester she made oath that, in case he would accept her for Queen of England, he should have the disposal of all bishoprics and abbeys; Robert, Earl of Gloucester, and Brien Fitzcount were guarantees|| for the performance of this oath.

Some months elapsed, and the Bishop of Winchester changed sides, and, with some of his citizens, deserted the cause of the empress, and declared again for Stephen. Being much enraged at this, she marched and besieged his castle, assisted by her uncle, the King of the Scots, her brother Robert, and Brien Fitzcount, Lord of Wallingford. The result was disastrous, and ended in her defeat, after a large part of the city, with its new minster, had been burnt down. According to Rapin, the bishop himself, out of revenge, set fire to the city. Matilda was compelled to retreat; she escaped to Ludgershall, and thence to Devizes. Many of her adherents were taken prisoners in their flight, and among them Robert

* Kennett, p. 133.

† Page 381.

‡ Translation, p. 234.

§ "Scriptor. Norman," vol. ii. p. 958.

|| William of Malmesbury, vol. i. p. 188.

her brother, in whose castle at Bristol the king was still imprisoned. His capture took place on the 14th of September, 1141, and secured the king's release by a mutual exchange. Both leaders thus regained their liberty, and for a short time, it would seem, these parts were under the obedience of Stephen; and if we can depend upon the authority of Dugdale,* even Brien Fitzcount, the devoted and heroic follower of the empress, purchased his peace with the king by compounding for the more secure enjoyment of his wife's inheritance. However this may be, it is certain that within the same year he returned, to the interest of the empress, and continued to be her most vigorous and constant friend.

It cannot be disguised that the haughty behaviour of the empress irritated the people exceedingly, and may offer an excuse for Brien's temporary estrangement, if such took place. So excessive was it that the citizens of London assumed an attitude that obliged the empress to flee, as before stated, from the capital. The recorded movements of Brien Fitzcount do not, however, favour the notion that there existed even a temporary estrangement between the empress and himself, for after the defeat at Winchester, he attended her to her castle of Devizes, from whence they removed to Oxford, and there is certainly nothing to warrant the belief that he had changed sides. The more closely we look into the matter, the more slender and less reliable will appear the evidence upon which such an assumption has been founded. The compounding spoken of by Dugdale seems to be the meaning he put on the word "*compotum*," in the extract from the Great Roll set out, *ante*, page 231, which occurs in three of the passages; but such a rendering of the word would make those passages almost unintelligible. Dugdale was probably misled, as others have been, by the note at the foot of the Roll, which refers to the 5th of King Stephen what belongs to the last year of his predecessor, as before stated. If this be admitted, we must acquit Brien of having purchased his peace with Stephen in the way suggested.

The passages in the Roll are unconnected, and appear to relate to events that happened at different times, after, perhaps, considerable intervals. The last item being the first, that in order of date should have been noticed as referring

* Dugdale, "*The Baronage of England*," tom. i. p. 569 a.

to the acquisition of part of the lands of Nigel d'Oyley, who died about the year 1120, and for securing which a payment in the nature of a fine was exacted, as was usual in such cases.

It was, however, in Stephen's reign that this system of imposing fines was carried to an unreasonable extent. When the king was admitted to the throne, he promised to release the people from taxes, and it is believed he kept his word; but he levied by other means enormous sums of money wherewith to replenish the Treasury. Adopting the system that had prevailed in previous reigns, of imposing fines, he made it a most productive source of revenue. Not only were heavy fines exacted from his subjects for leave to hold and to quit offices and bailiwicks, to have seizin and restitution of their own lands, and protection against disseizin, and also in relation to trade and merchandise; but money was obtained by way of fine in a variety of other ways. For instance, fines were made by tenants in *capite* for licence to marry, or to marry whom they pleased, or that they might not be compelled to marry. Fines were also wont to be made for obtaining the king's protection and aid, for his mediation in men's affairs, for his royal favour or good will, or for the remission of his anger or displeasure; also for discharges out of prison, and bail, and for acquittals of criminals in divers cases. These were some of the ordinary modes adopted, and if we had found Brien's name associated with Walter de Clifford, Hugh de Nevill, Rannulf the chancellor, and others, who purchased the king's favour and good will by large payments, the evidence that Brien had transferred his fidelity would have been strong against him; but we find him classed only with those upon whom a fine was placed in the ordinary course for holding hereditary lands.

Several singular instances are given in Madox's "History of the Exchequer," which show how productive was the system adopted, not only by King Stephen, but by his successors and predecessors. The citizens of London were fined twenty thousand pounds to obtain the king's good will.

William de Chevill paid sixty marks for the office of butler in the king's house, which his father had before him.

Gilbert de Maisnil gave ten marks of silver in order that the king would give him leave to take a wife.

Walter de Cancy gave fifteen pounds for leave to marry when and whom he pleased.

Wiverone, of Ipswich, gave four pounds and a mark of silver that she might not be married to any one except to her own good liking.

Lucia, Countess of Chester, gave five hundred marks of silver that she might not be married within five years.

Geoffrey de Mandevill gave twenty thousand marks that he might have to wife Isabell, Countess of Gloucester, with her lands and knights' fees.

Alice Bertram gave twenty marks that she might not be compelled to marry at all.

The wife of Hugh de Nevill paid two hundred hens that she might lie with her husband one night.

Concurrent fines were not uncommon, where both parties were fined to obtain the same thing; and counter-fines, where two parties were fined, one for one thing, and the other against it.

In the autumn of 1141 the memorable siege of Oxford took place, whither the empress had repaired, safe, as was thought, to an impregnable castle, during her brother's absence in Normandy, on a mission to bring back Prince Henry and recruit his forces.* Suddenly, in the beginning of October, Stephen appeared with a numerous body of soldiers, and took his ground on the bank of the river opposite the castle, determined, if possible, to capture the empress. Amidst showers of arrows from the archers, the king "plunged into the stream himself at the head of his troops, and swimming rather than wading across, followed by his army, they charged the enemy with impetuosity,"† and furiously with battering engines assaulted the castle. Signal success followed this bold attack. The enemy were driven back to the city gates, and those who resisted either fell by the sword or were fettered and reserved for ransom. Some had to shelter themselves in the coverts, and others, with the empress, in all haste shut themselves up in the castle. After this success,

* "Robert Doyley, nephew to the first Robert, who succeeded his uncle, taking part against King Stephen, delivered up this castle to the Empress Maud, on her coming hither, in 1141, in great state from Winchester, with many barons."—"History of Oxfordshire."

† "The Acts of King Stephen," p. 394.

the king pressed on with greater vigour and determination. He "posted," says the Chronicle,* "vigilant guards from place to place around the castle, with orders to keep a strict watch on all the avenues by day and by night. Three months he was detained before it, with a large force, and the garrison was reduced to great extremities by famine. . . . It was the king's purpose to press the siege until the countess became his prisoner; but notwithstanding the host of the besiegers, and the sentries carefully posted round the castle and watching in the dead of night, she escaped out of it uninjured in an extraordinary way. For provisions and the means of subsistence beginning to fail in the garrison, and the king exhausting every effort to reduce it by violent assaults and by his military engines, she became much straitened, and despairing of any relief coming from without,† she issued forth one night, attended only by three knights, chosen for their wary prudence. The ground was white with snow, which lay deep over the whole country, the rivers were frozen hard, and for six miles she and her companions had to make their toilsome way on foot over snow and ice. What was very remarkable, and indeed truly miraculous, she crossed dry-shod, and without wetting her garments, the very waters into which the king and his troops had plunged up to the necks on their advance to attack the city;‡ she passed too through the royal posts, while the silence of night was broken all around by the clang of trumpets and the cries of the guard, without losing a single man of her escort, and observed only by one man of the king's troops, who had been wrought with to favour her escape. Having thus got out of the castle undiscovered and unmolested, she reached Wallingford in the course of the night, after a very toilsome journey." Our author then refers to the marvellous escapes of the empress from so many enemies threatening her life, and from such exceeding perils. First, she was allowed to depart

* "The Acts of King Stephen," p. 394.

† The Earl of Gloucester, her brother and main support, was now absent in Anjou.

‡ Henry of Huntingdon mentions her crossing the Thames, at that time frozen over. We gather from Malmesbury that the empress escaped shortly before Christmas, in the season of Advent. According to him, Oxford was invested three days before Michaelmas, and our author says that Stephen was detained before it three months.

unmolested from Arundel Castle through the enemy's army; then she fled in safety from London, where the populace rose with fury against her; next, after the rout at Winchester, when almost all her adherents were intercepted, she only made good her retreat; and now we have seen how she escaped in safety from the beleaguered castle at Oxford,—“the most wonderful escape of all,” says Lord Lyttelton.

The story of the empress's escape is slightly varied by some authors. The Saxon Chronicle,* under date 1140, states that she was let down from the tower by ropes at night, and thus she stole away, and fled on foot to Wallingford. William of Malmesbury says that the townsmen, being anxious for their own safety when Stephen besieged them, allowed her, with four soldiers, to pass out through a small postern, clothed in white garments; and so reaching Abingdon on foot, she thence proceeded on horseback to Wallingford. Peter Langtoft† describes the course the empress took: “She went on ice and snow directly by Kennington to Rodney [now called Radley], where there was a rode [road] in those times, and so to Wallingford, a wonderful strong castle, where she secured herself.”

The white garments mentioned were no doubt, as Meyrick suggests, “thrown over the armour of the knights for disguise.”‡ The tunics girded round the waist had not then been generally introduced.

According to the legend of Reading Abbey, by Felix, the sub-prior, Sir Ingelric of Huntercombe, was one of the loyal and fearless knights who accompanied the empress in her escape. He had been long attached to her cause, and his manor-house at Huntercombe, within sight of the Castle of Wallingford, had been fired at the time when the flames of civil war were raging all round, and his wife was sacrificed in the fearful conflagration that ensued.

Brien Fitzcount had accompanied the empress to Oxford, and although his movements are not given with any exactness, he appears to have got out during the siege, and repaired to his own castle at Wallingford, where many barons of the party had assembled to give Stephen battle. The barons had pledged their faith to the Earl of Gloucester, that they would

* Page 234.

† Chronicle, p. 600.

‡ “Ancient Armour,” vol. i. p. 39.

guard his sister from all danger during his absence, and the meeting at Wallingford took place in consequence of the critical position in which Matilda was placed at Oxford. Their resolution, however, to fight Stephen depended on their being able to draw him into the field, which they could not effect; and after several vain consultations, they withdrew their forces, leaving Matilda in despair of any relief;* but her invincible spirit made her hold out, and she escaped in the way described.

Possibly Brien was aware of the intentions of the empress, and sallied out to meet her; for we read that he advanced with a body of horse to the town of Abingdon, just after the escape, and meeting in his way an aged shepherd, who had been out in the night in search of some sheep lost in the snow-drifts, he learned from him that at about midnight, the aged man had seen, gliding along the road between Oxford and Abingdon, five ghosts, or revenants, all in white, which he took to be the uneasy spirits of some who had perished in the daily slaughters. And thus it seems Brien and his company went in pursuit, though too late to join the empress.

The castle of Oxford surrendered on the terms† offered by Stephen, on the morning after the escape; and, according to Kennett, the city had been previously burned.

When the news of the danger of the empress at Oxford reached the Earl of Gloucester, he took a hasty leave of the Earl of Anjou, and with Prince Henry, his nephew, set sail for England, intending to lead his army at once to Oxford, after meeting his adherents at Cirencester. His plans were altered when he heard, to his surprise, that Matilda was safe at Wallingford. There he joined her, with the prince; at the sight of whom, says the Chronicle, "she was so greatly comforted that she forgot all her trouble and mortifications for the joy she had of his presence."‡ Afterwards the prince was taken to Bristol, and continued there four years under the care of his uncle, who trained him up.

The king did not follow his foe to Wallingford after the surrender of Oxford, but the flames of civil war broke out with greater violence than ever in other places, and almost universal anarchy and desolation reigned in England. At Wilton the king would have been taken prisoner, but for the

* Lyttelton's "Henry II."

† Ibid.

‡ Gervase.

stand that was made against the enemy by his faithful seneschal, William Martel. Stephen had turned the nunnery at Wilton into a castle, driving out the sisterhood, and surrounding it with bulwarks and battlements. The work was scarcely finished when, on the 1st of July, the Earl of Gloucester fell suddenly on his encamped army, and gained a great victory. Martel held out till the king and his brother, the bishop, had made their escape. He was taken prisoner after a stout resistance, and committed to the custody of Brien Fitzcount, who had returned to the guard of his castle at Wallingford—that terrible stronghold, which, says the sub-prior in the legend, “few men could mention without turning pale.” Here, it is said, Brien caused an inner prison or dungeon to be built, called Cloere Brien, or Brien’s Close, the better to secure his prisoner, who was not to be released till he had consented to deliver up, for his ransom, the important castle of Shirburne, and the large tract of country which was attached to it. With this great acquisition, Matilda found herself mistress of half the kingdom. The last trace of a dungeon answering the above description, with huge iron rings fixed in the walls, disappeared about sixty or seventy years ago. It is probable some portion of the buried remains may yet be found between the first and second moat on the west, where a hollow in the ground seems to mark the spot.

Speaking of the civil war and the horrors of the time, Green, in his “Short History of the English People,” observes,* “The war had, in fact, become a mere chaos of pillage and bloodshed. The outrages of the feudal baronage showed from what horrors the Norman rule had so long saved England. No more ghastly picture of a nation’s misery has ever been painted than that which closes the English Chronicle, whose last accents falter out amidst the horrors of the time.” “They hanged up men by their feet, and smoked them with foul smoke. Some were hanged up by their thumbs, others by the head, and burning things were hung on to their feet. They put knotted strings about their head, and writhed them till they went into the brain. They put men into dungeons where adders and snakes and toads were crawling, and so they tormented them. Some they put into a chest, short and narrow and not deep, and that had sharp stones within,

* Page 98.

and forced men therein, so that they broke all their limbs. In many of the castles were hateful and grim things called rachenteges, which two or three men had enough to do to carry. It was thus made: it was fastened to a beam, and had a sharp iron to go about a man's neck and throat, so that he might noways sit, or lie, or sleep; but he bore all the iron. Many thousands they afflicted with hunger."

One shudders to connect these horrible cruelties with him who governed Wallingford, and perhaps there is no express warrant for doing so; but still, it must be admitted that the lustre of the famous name of Brien Fitzcount was darkened by his participation in some of the revolting usages of the time. His castle was full of prisoners, and we read of the daily tortures to which they were subjected, in order to make them disclose their supposed hidden treasures, or to pay the heaviest ransom they had the means of bearing. The ransom exacted from William Martel, of the castle and lands of Shirburne, was considered to be "one of the keys of the realm," * and an inner dungeon of the Castle was the place in which he was doomed to suffer, probably with many others chained by his side. The highest in the hierarchy, says the sub-prior, were known to be in the foul prisons of this Castle, pent up with Jewish traffickers and money-dealers; the noblest and the purest, with the vilest and foulest of the earth. Night after night, he states, the townfolk were startled in their sleep by the cries and shrieks which came from the grim Castle.

The misery of the country was aggravated by a dreadful famine, which followed an excessive rainfall in the summer season, and was occasioned by the failure of tillage for some years. The former raged throughout the land with such severity that the people in all parts are said to have died in heaps.† A long frost of great intensity set in, lasting from the beginning of December to the 9th of February; and the passage, says Daniel,‡ over the Thames, for man and horse, was on the ice. In the year 1143, although the season was favourable, the crop was suffered to rot on the ground, for want of hands to cut it down.§ But these are matters of general history, and it is no part of my purpose to dwell on

* Lyttelton's "Henry II."

† "The Acts of King Stephen."

‡ "History of England."

§ Lyttelton.

the horrible and unexampled atrocities that characterized the period; they are set out in full detail in the Chronicle. We will, therefore, pass over an interval of two years, during which the deepest misery and degradation and the blackest crimes continued to prevail, till we reach the year 1145, when a royalist success at the neighbouring town of Faringdon seems to have greatly assisted the fortune of the king. In the strong castle of Faringdon, the Earl of Gloucester had placed a garrison "chosen out of the flower of his troops,"* but the fortress was obliged to surrender.

Although the king had now reduced a large extent of territory to his obedience, Wallingford, up to this period, had escaped any direct attack, owing doubtless to the supposed impregnability of its Castle, and the known valour and skill and determination of its brave defender. But the time was approaching when the great battle was to be fought, and a determined attack made on the garrison of Wallingford, where the remaining strength and interest of the empress chiefly lay.

Brien Fitzcount, in maintaining the Castle as the strongest garrison for the empress, frequently sent out parties for contribution and provisions, whereupon Henry, Bishop of Winchester, desired of him not to molest any passengers that should be coming to his fair, nor to commit any acts of hostility upon his lands and tenants. The baron, however, put no restriction on his soldiers, who sallied out for plunder as usual; and for this act of disobedience he was threatened with excommunication in a sharp letter, to which the baron as sharply replied, upbraiding the bishop with deserting the cause of the empress, justifying the necessity of his soldiers' plunder, and appealing to any legal method of trial against him. In the result it appears that all Brien's lands were seized to the use of King Stephen, "including the manor of Burcester, held in fee from him by Gilbert Bassett, sen., who paid him his military service, and must suffer with him in the same cause."†

A.D. 1146, 11 and 12 King Stephen. Several attacks now commenced on the Castle and town of Wallingford, which continued to be the stronghold of the empress. In

* Roger de Hoveden; Stubbs (1145).

† Kennett, vol. i. p. 138.

bringing his army again to the siege, the king probably relied on the aid of the neighbouring country, which had been much annoyed by the predatory sallies of the soldiers before spoken of. Ranulph, Earl of Chester, had now joined the royal side, and came to the king's assistance with three hundred horse; but their united forces were powerless to reduce a place which was so vigorously maintained by the heroic Brien.

After spending much time in unsuccessful efforts, by stratagem and force, to take the Castle, the king repaired and strengthened the forts at Crowmarsh, and retreated, leaving* the earl with a strong body to surround the town, and oblige the garrison to surrender for want of supplies; but all these attempts were baffled by the skill and perseverance of the Lord of Wallingford. It is said that Brien's wife, Maud d'Oyley, took a prominent part in all the valiant actions of her husband, on behalf of the empress, "inheritynge the spirit of her anncestours."†

This Earl of Chester was one of those powerful barons who, under the feudal system, oppressed the people entrusted to their protection, and were the cause of most of the civil wars which broke out during this and the ensuing reigns, by throwing their influence and weight into the scale of whichever party appeared to be most for their own interest; and as they thus joined a side without any reasonable or proper grounds, so they deserted it without remorse. This was conspicuously the case with the Earl of Chester, whose natural qualities seem to have been selfishness, cruelty, inconstancy, and faithlessness. Fighting under the banner of the empress, he obtained by treachery the castle of Lincoln, and he was the active and reckless leader when the king, endeavouring to retake the castle, was routed and made a prisoner. Then soon after he became reconciled to the monarch, and was entrusted by him with the command of the forts at Crowmarsh. Within four years he transferred his allegiance from the king to the empress, and we find him accompanying the latter and her son Henry into Scotland, where, according to Hoveden, they were all cordially received by David the king. Next, he was discovered meditating a renewal of his

* Chron. Gervase; Roger de Hunt., "Annals of Waverley."

† Lipscombe.

former acts of treason, which led to his seizure and imprisonment, till death by poison, given him designedly, put an end to his turbulent life, A.D. 1153.

A.D. 1152. In this year a compromise was proposed between King Stephen and Henry, by the intervention of their friends, whereby Stephen was to dismantle the lines at Crowmarsh, and raise the blockade of the town. It does not appear that this proposal was listened to by the king till the following year, when, after various negotiations, he agreed to dismantle the forts; but this was a hollow and faithless concession, made probably with a view to gain some temporary advantage. Instead of carrying out his contract, Stephen left Wallingford, and having reduced the castle of Newbury, sixteen miles distant, he then renewed the closer siege of Wallingford; but the skill and valour of Brien Fitzcount once more compelled him to retreat, notwithstanding that the forts at Crowmarsh, which he had engaged by treaty to demolish, had been suffered to remain.

After this repulse, the king, nothing daunted, again recruited his forces, and returned to the siege of the Castle with greater determination than ever. His bravery on this occasion was attended with much better success than all his previous efforts, for in a short time he reduced the Castle and town to that extremity that Brien and his followers were obliged to send a messenger to Prince Henry, in Normandy, with an earnest request either to come over himself to their relief, or permit them to surrender the place to Stephen,* on the best terms they could obtain. Lyttelton thus describes the mode by which Stephen effected the blockade of the Castle: "It could not be taken but by famine, and, therefore, Stephen had constructed several forts round about it to block it up; the principal of these, which he called the castle of Craumers, was very strong, and he had left therein a large garrison, to restrain that of Wallingford from making excursions; the latter, however, were not so entirely shut up but that they still preserved a communication with the neighbouring country by a bridge over the Thames, which ran close under the outward wall of the Castle. In order to cut off this passage, and complete the blockade, Stephen erected a fort at the head of the bridge, which made it impossible for the

* Henry of Huntingdon; Gervase.

troops that defended the Castle either to go out for provisions or receive any in, and reduced them in a short time to grievous want."

Henry, who had now assumed the titles* of Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Count of Anjou, was greatly perplexed at receiving this message, for he had not yet made peace with the King of France; nevertheless, as he apprehended the total discouragement of his party in England if he suffered a place of such importance as Wallingford to be lost, he determined to go over, although in the midst of winter. Leaving behind the greater part of his forces to protect his territory in France, he embarked, with three thousand foot and one hundred and forty horse, and landed in January, 1153, when most of the great men from the west and other parts came to his standard, and gave him the command of a formidable army. Thus recruited, he marched directly to the relief of his mother's friends and followers at Wallingford, taking, in his way, the castle of Malmesbury, the enemy being unprepared to oppose his victorious progress. According to Lyttelton,† he passed unmolested through the whole chain of forts that Stephen had built round about the town, the garrisons of those places not daring to sally out or offer any obstruction to his enterprise. Stephen, on hearing of Henry's approach, had withdrawn from the fort at Crowmarsh and gone to London, to procure fresh supplies of men and money, leaving his son, Eustace, to carry on operations in his absence. On Henry's arrival at Wallingford, he found the garrison in the Castle ready to perish by famine; and having revictualled it, his first movement was to block up the forts at Crowmarsh in such a manner as to prevent the soldiers there from getting supplies, while his own adherents had at their command the whole range of the surrounding country. Lyttelton ‡ tells us that Henry effected this object by besieging the strongest of the forts belonging to the castle of Craumers, and drawing lines of circumvallation about it extending to Wallingford Castle. Henry of Huntingdon§ remarks that he commenced the difficult and important enterprise by digging a deep trench round the walls and his own camp, so that his army had no egress but by the

* Strickland, vol. i. p. 282.

† "History of Henry II."

‡ Ibid., p. 197.

§ Page 292.

Castle of Wallingford, and the besieged had none whatever. Thus he not only cut off all supplies from the garrison, but effectually prevented incursions of the enemy's troops out of the other smaller forts. He had leisure to complete these works before Stephen returned from London with forces sufficiently recruited to be able again to take the field. At length the king returned, and having, it appears, made the utmost efforts to collect his whole strength, he marched towards Wallingford with an army more numerous than the duke's. Many of the barons attended his standard, and among them (quoting from Lyttelton *) "the Earl of Arundel, a man famous for his eloquence, no less than his valour. William of Ipres was likewise there, at the head of the mercenaries. Foremost of all, and most eager to fight, was Prince Eustace, being fired, not only by the ardour of youth and great natural courage, but by strong emulation against Henry, the rival of all his pretensions. Both had from their infancy been bred up in expectation of the kingdom of England; both had been invested with the duchy of Normandy; both had married wives of the first rank in Europe; their age was the same, their valour equal; but in wisdom, in knowledge, in the decency and dignity of his behaviour, in all the virtue of civil life, Henry was vastly superior to Eustace."

As soon as the intelligence of the king's approach reached Henry, the latter made a sudden sally out of Wallingford Castle, and took by storm the fort at the head of the bridge, which Stephen had erected the year before.

Robert de Monte, 1152, records an act of cruelty that probably occurred at this time. "Dux in quadam turre lignea xx. milites jam ceperat, exceptis ix. sagittariis quos decapitari fecerat."

Freeman, quoting the above passage and referring to the wooden tower, remarks, "This was on the bridge at Wallingford. Having thus opened to himself a free passage over the river, and a communication to the Castle with the country on that side, Henry threw down his lines and marched out with great alacrity to meet the king and give him battle, considering it more to his honour," says our author, "to brave the enemy in the field than to wait for him behind entrenchments. Leaving a sufficient force to continue the blockade of the castle of

* "History of Henry II.," vol. i. p. 398.

Craumers till he should return, he marched onwards, and soon espied the enemy." What afterwards took place is thus described by Lyttelton:—*

"He had not gone very far when, in the midst of a wide and open plain, he found Stephen encamped, and pitched his own tents within a quarter of a mile of him, preparing for a battle with all the eagerness of a brave and youthful heart elate with success. Stephen also much wished to bring the contest between them to a speedy decision; but while he and Eustace were consulting with William of Ipres, in whom they most confided, and by whose private advice they took all their measures, the Earl of Arundel, having assembled all the nobility and principal officers, spoke to this effect: 'It is now above sixteen years that, on a doubtful and disputed claim to the crown, the rage of civil war has almost continually infected this kingdom. During this melancholy period how much blood has been shed! what desolation and misery have been brought on the people! The laws have lost their force, the crown its authority, licentiousness and impurity have shaken all the foundations of public security. This great and noble nation has been delivered a prey to the basest of foreigners, the abominable scum of Flanders, Brabant, and Bretagne, robbers rather than soldiers, restrained by no laws, divine or human, tied to no country, subject to no prince, instruments of all tyranny, violence, and oppression. At the same time, our cruel neighbours, the Welsh and the Scotch, calling themselves allies or auxiliaries to the empress, but in reality enemies and destroyers of England, have broken their bounds, ravaged our borders, and taken from us whole provinces, which we can never hope to recover, while, instead of employing our united force against them, we continue thus madly, without any care of our public safety or national honour, to turn our swords against our own bosoms. What benefit have we gained to compensate all these losses, or what do we expect? When Matilda was mistress of the kingdom, though her power was not yet confirmed, in what manner did she govern? Did she not make even those of her own faction and court regret the king? Was not her pride more intolerable still than his levity, her rapine than his profuseness? Were any years of his reign so grievous to the people, so offensive to the

* "History of Henry II.," vol. i. p. 398.

nobles, as the first days of hers? When she was driven out, did Stephen correct his bad conduct? Did he dismiss his odious foreign favourite? Did he discharge his lawless foreign hirelings, who had so long been the scourge and the reproach of England? Have not they lived ever since upon free quarter, by plundering our houses and burning our cities? And now, to complete our miseries, a new army of foreigners, Angevins, Gascons, and Poitevins, I know not who, are come over with Henry Plantagenet, the son of Matilda, and many more no doubt will be called to assist him, as soon as ever his affairs abroad will permit; by whose help, if it be victorious, England must pay the price of their services, our lands, our honours must be the hire of these rapacious invaders. But suppose we should have the fortune to conquer for Stephen, what will be the consequence? Will victory teach him moderation? Will he learn from security that regard to our liberties which he could not learn from danger? Alas! the only fruit of our good success will be this: the estates of the Earl of Leicester and others of our countrymen who have now quitted the party of the king will be forfeited, and new confiscations will accrue to William of Ipres.’”

Proceeding in the same strain, he urged that no lasting peace to the kingdom could be secured, that conquest itself was full of calamity, and that it was in their power to free themselves from all these misfortunes, save the lives of thousands of Englishmen, prevent any further violation of liberty, procure an effective redress of grievances, and end the controversy both safely and honourably by an amicable agreement, whereby Stephen should enjoy the royal dignity for his life, and the succession be secured to the Duke of Normandy, with such a present rank in the State as befitted the heir to the crown. Stephen, he added, should not be deprived of, but restrained from further abuse of, royal authority. “Henry should have the right to interpose his advice, and even his authority, if it be necessary, against any further violations of our liberties, and to procure an effectual redress of our grievances, secure the public tranquillity, and leave no secret stings of resentment to rankle in the hearts of a suffering party, and produce future disturbances. As there will be no triumph, no insolence, no exclusive right to favour on either side, there can be no shame, no anger, no uneasy desire of

change ; it will be the work of the whole nation. The sons of Stephen may indeed endeavour to oppose it, but their efforts will be fruitless. Nor have they any reasonable cause to complain—their father himself did not come to the crown by hereditary right. Henry's mother has willingly resigned to him her pretensions. Our peace, our safety, the repose of our consciences, the quiet and happiness of our posterity, will be firmly established by the means I propose.”

The earl concluded his eloquent and powerful speech—which is given by Lyttelton at considerable length—by inviting the co-operation of his hearers, and promising, if they approved of his advice, and would empower him to treat in their name, immediately to convey their desires to the king and the duke.

The earl undoubtedly acted in concert with the principal men of both parties. His speech, it appears by the same authority, was received with great applause ; the impression it made on the nobles and gentry was soon communicated to the soldiers, and produced in their minds a sudden change. Those who before had been the most ardent to fight, now threw down their arms, and loudly declared their wishes for peace, on the foundation which the earl had marked out. Seeing these good dispositions so general in them, and being sure of a support from the most powerful barons, he made the proposal to the king, with a tone of authority rather than of counsel. “Astonishment, rage, and indignation choked up the speech of Eustace.” Stephen,* amazed, confounded, and intimidated, after some pause and conflict in his mind, yielded to an immediate cessation of arms, and to a conference with the duke, in order to a treaty which he expressed himself as sure to end in nothing but loss and dishonour to himself and his family. The Earl of Arundel then made a like proposal to the duke and his army, having sent before him some monks and other ecclesiastics to negotiate in private with the English nobility, and secure their assistance. The duke at first was very averse to listen to the suggestions, and resolved to gain or lose all, as the fortune of war should decide ; but fearing to be abandoned by all his English friends, who were unanimous in desiring a treaty, he at last, though with the utmost reluctance, consented

* Abridged from Lyttelton.

to the interview which the king had agreed to. They met within a little distance from their two camps, upon the opposite banks of the Thames, at a spot which was very narrow, and conferred together a long time without any attendants. It is said they mutually complained to each other of the treachery of the barons, and of their insolence in presuming to dictate such terms to their masters. What further passed is unknown, but says Lyttelton, "they parted without any decisive agreement, only a short suspension of arms having been settled between them, and the advantageous condition made that the king himself should demolish the castle of Craumers."

According to other authorities, this conference took place in a meadow at *Wallingford*, with the river Thames flowing between the respective armies. This seems far more probable, for the width of the river, even at its narrowest part, must have presented an almost insurmountable barrier to any conference taking place across the stream. Miss Strickland considers that the terms of pacification were here settled, and, Lysons adds, a peace was concluded before the walls of Wallingford. Notwithstanding what Lyttelton tells us, it cannot be supposed that the conference was unproductive of good, or that the terms of compromise were but slightly discussed, with no view to their adoption, because we find that the very terms that formed the subject of deliberation and discussion by the leaders of both parties before the conference took place, were in their main features adopted as the basis of the charter of convention, which was ratified by the royal chiefs very soon afterwards.

Doubtless Henry was eager for the battle, and Stephen, though weary of the struggle, was not likely hastily to consent to a treaty, the effect of which would be to exclude his son and his family from the throne. Moreover, upon a considerable party in the country the eloquence of the Earl of Arundel had no effect. Some of them expected and dreaded the abuse of victorious power, from whichever side it proceeded; others wished to see the strength of the contending parties entirely exhausted, probably for the same reason, the policy being, as Henry of Huntingdon observes, to prolong the contest, and so weaken the strength of both the contending princes that neither of them might become a more

absolute governor. All this was quite sufficient to account for, nay, to encourage, indecisive action on the part of the king and the prince; but the influences that were brought to bear were too powerful to be resisted. The hostile chiefs, after a short interval, were compelled to yield to the pacific counsel that was promoted, not only by the Earl of Arundel, William de Albini, and the barons belonging to either party, but by the vast majority of the nation, and we shall not be very far wrong in concluding that the conditions of pacification, and the succession to the throne, were virtually settled on the river-bank at Wallingford.

Prince Eustace continued to be the greatest obstacle to the peace. He saw the comparative obscurity into which he would be reduced by the adoption of the proposed treaty, and he resolved, at all risk, to offer a determined resistance. On his father's return from the conference he upbraided* him bitterly for having had the abject complaisance to treat with his enemy, according to the dictates of his mutinous subjects. Without deigning even to wait for a reply, he broke away suddenly, taking with him the knights of his household, and those who were particularly attached to him, and repaired to Cambridge. There he drew together beneath his own standard several persons of desperate fortune and minds, to whom civil war was a benefit. From Cambridge, with his company of malcontents, he marched towards Bury St. Edmunds, ravaging and laying under contribution all the country through which he passed. At Bury he demanded of the monks there a subsidy. They offered him food and refreshment. He came not, he sternly replied, "for meat, but money,"† which being refused, he instantly plundered the monastery, and committed other acts of violence and wrong. But his reckless career was of short duration. Enraged by the turn of events, and the want of success in his new enterprise, he fell into a furious passion, and died, according to some historians, of brain fever; but, says the Chronicle,‡ "sitting down to dinner in a frenzy of rage, the first morsel of meat he essayed to swallow, choked him, and he died, A.D. 1153."

The cessation of arms agreed on between Stephen and Henry having expired, a feeble renewal of hostilities com-

* Gervase.

† Strickland, vol. i. p. 286.

‡ Gerv. Dorob.; Speed.

menced on either side, while peace negotiations were still progressing. At Stamford, Ipswich, and Nottingham, and in this neighbourhood, we read of disquietude and alarm, attack and surrender. Henry of Huntingdon and Gervase thus describe what occurred at or near Wallingford. A detachment of the king's troops, commanded by William de Quercy, Governor of Oxford, by the brave William Martel, and by Richard de Lucy, coming to make an incursion into the country held by Henry, he put himself at the head of a body of forces sent to his assistance by some of the bishops, met this party on their way, attacked and defeated them. He took twenty knights, and pursued the rest as far as Oxford. After this action, his light-armed troops overran and pillaged the country.

The death of Eustace advanced the cause of peace, as did also, in a lower degree, that of his great friend, Simon de St. Liz, the young Earl of Northampton and Huntingdon, who, according to Kennett, was killed a few months previously at the siege of Wallingford, or, as some authors say, died of brain fever in the same week in which the death of Prince Eustace took place.

The latter was one of the greatest opposers of Henry's interest, and one of the principal fomentors of the quarrel between the rival princes. There appears to be some doubt as to the time of his death. Gervase states that he died "at the siege of Wallingford, in the same week as the king's son." I do not, however, find any confirmation of this statement that Wallingford sustained another actual siege at this period, unless it be that the king's troops, under the command of William de Quercy, advanced nearer to the town than is represented, and made an attack on some of the outworks, which extended a considerable distance from the town on the northward side of the Castle, where entrenched positions are still traceable.

Speed mentions the surrender of several castles to Henry after the death of Prince Eustace, and the march of the king to Wallingford, but no particulars are given. He says many castles were delivered to Duke Henry, including Reading, Warwick, Stamford, and others, whereat Stephen was much displeased, and, "thinking to entrap the young and venturesome duke, followed him into Wallingford, with a strong army;"

but "God Himself looking down from heaven," says Matthew Paris, "made an end of those long calamities, by stirring the minds of the chief men in the land to labour for peace."

Referring to the castle of Reading, which Speed mentions, Dr. Coates, in his history of that town, observes,* "The troops of Henry, which were in possession of Wallingford, attacked and destroyed the castle of Brightwell near that town, and proceeding to Reading, destroyed the castle there, which King Stephen had erected near the abbey." The castle of Brightwell, which stood at the foot of Sinodun Hill on the west of Wallingford, was, according to other authorities, levelled to the ground by Henry's troops before the Treaty of Wallingford. Prince Eustace, Simon Earl of Northampton, and Ranulph Earl of Chester, having now being removed by death, no one of influence and weight was left to oppose the Earl of Arundel's scheme, and, under the mediation of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Winchester, the Treaty of Wallingford was concluded at the end of November, 1153. As Green puts it, "The Treaty of Wallingford abolished the evils of the long anarchy, the castles were to be razed, the Crown lands resumed, and the foreign mercenaries banished from the country. Stephen was recognized as king, and, in turn, acknowledged Henry as his heir."

The convention was confirmed first by a Parliament imperfectly summoned at Westminster, and afterwards by a Parliament more regularly convened to meet the king and prince at Oxford, where the nobles had assembled in great numbers, and where they did fealty to Henry as the undoubted heir to the throne, and Henry yielded to Stephen "the honour of a father, and the royaltie of all kingly power during his life. Stephen, on his part, with the consent of the Holy Church, assured to the duke his castles and fortresses, that he might not suffer any damage or delay in acquiring possession of the kingdom."

In the same month, at a great Council held at Windsor, the convention was also solemnly ratified.†

The following is an extract from the charter, translated from the original in the Public Record Office,‡ under date

* Page 143. † Henry's "Great Britain," vol. v. p. 113.

‡ Red Book of the Exchequer, fol. 164.

A.D. 1153, 18 King Stephen.

"For the succession of the kingdom of England.

"CHARTER OF CONVENTION

"Between King Stephen and Henry, son of the Empress Matilda.

"Stephen, King of England, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Earls, Justices, Sheriffs, Barons, and to all his faithful subjects of England, greeting:—

"Know ye that I, King Stephen, have constituted Henry, Duke of Normandy, to be successor after me to the kingdom of England, and my heir by hereditary right; and thus to him and his heirs the kingdom of England I have given and confirmed.

"But the duke, on account of this honour and donation and confirmation to him by me made, has done homage to me, and given security by oath; to wit, that he will be faithful to me, and my life and honour to his power will preserve according to the conventions already discussed between us, which in this charter are contained.

"I also have given security by oath to the duke that his life and honour, according to my power, I will preserve, and as my son and heir in all things will maintain him, and against all will protect him so far as I am able. . . .

"The citizens also of the cities, and the men of the castles, which I shall hold in demesne, by my command shall do homage and security to the duke, saving my fealty so long as I live and hold the kingdom; but those who keep the Castle of Wallingford have done homage to me, and have given to me sureties for faithfully serving me.

"These being witnesses:—

Theobaldo, Archiepiscopo.
Henrico Wintoniensi Episcopo.
Roberto Exoniensi Episcopo.
Roberto Bathoniensi Episcopo.
Gocelino Salesburiensi Episcopo.
Roberto Lincolniensi Episcopo.

Hilarico Cicestrensi Episcopo.
Willielmo Norwicensi Episcopo.
Ricardo London. Episcopo.
Nigello Elyensi Episcopo.
Gyleberto Hardefordensi Episcopo.
Johanni Wygornensi Episcopo.

Galfrido de S. Asaph Epis- copo.	Willielmo de Alba Marla.
Roberto Priore Bermundeseye.	Albrico Comite.
Otun Milite Templi.	Richardo de Luceio.
Willielmo Comite Cicestrensi.	Willielmo Martel.
Roberto Comite Leycestrensi.	Richardo de Humez.
Willielmo Comite Glouces- trensi.	Reginaldo de Warennia.
Raynoldo Comite Cornvalliæ.	Manase Biset.
Baldewino de Donyngton.	Johanne de Port.
Rogero Harfordiæ.	Richardo de Camavilla. (He held Basset's seven knights' fees.)
Hugone Bigoto.	Henrico de Estere.
Patricio Salysberienſi.	Apud Westmonasterium."

The provisions omitted in the above translation embrace points which may be briefly noted as follows :—

The homage of King Stephen's son William to Duke Henry.

The homage of the earls and barons on the duke's side, who had never been the king's men, to Stephen.

The guardianship and custody of certain castles and fortresses, by the names of "turre" in connection with London; "motæ" with Oxford and Windsor; "castrum" with Winchester; "firmitas" with Lincoln; and "munitiones" with Southampton.

The fidelity of the archbishops, bishops, and abbots to the duke; and

A provision that all the business of the kingdom should be transacted with the aid of the duke's counsel.

According to most historians, other stipulations besides those embodied in the foregoing charter were made the subject of a formal convention; and it therefore seems clear that there must have been another charter, probably one of those already spoken of, in which these additional stipulations were introduced, the main features of which were—

That all the castles which had been built by King Stephen's permission should be demolished.

That the adherents on both sides should receive no damage, but enjoy their estates according to their ancient rights and title.

That the king should resume into his own possession all

estates belonging to the Crown, which had been either alienated by himself or were usurped by others in his lifetime; and that such inheritance as had been unjustly taken from the right owners since King Henry's time should be restored to them.

Provisions of a temporary nature must also have been made for securing the peace of the kingdom.

For more detailed information on these points see Red Book Exchequer, Public Record Office; Rymer's "*Fœdera*," vol. i. p. 13; Robert de Monte, Henry of Huntingdon, William of Newburgh; Gervase; and other authorities mentioned in Freeman, vol. v. p. 862.

Matthew Paris makes the Empress Matilda the author of this pacification, and relates the story of a personal interview which she is represented to have had with Stephen previous to the settlement of the succession on Henry, in which, addressing the king as her former paramour, she is made to admit the illegitimacy of her son. "What mischievous and unnatural thing go ye about to do? Is it meet the father should destroy the son, or the son to kill the sire? For the love of the most high God fling down your weapons from your hands, sith that (as thou well knowest) he is indeed thine own son; for you well know how we twain were acquaint before I wedded Geoffrey." "The king knew her words to be sooth," adds Paris, and so came the peace.

Lyttelton * gives some colour to this story, by saying that Henry himself is stated, by an old author, to have claimed the king for his father.

The tale, however, is given by Matthew Paris merely as a report, but as the empress withdrew to the Continent, "tired of the wretched struggle," † eight years after her first coming to England as a claimant for its throne—that is, A.D. 1147—and no historian, as we are told by Freeman, has ever mentioned her return, we may well doubt the truth of the story.

Another tale of less dubious authenticity is mentioned by Matthew Paris. A superstitious panic which originated in an accidental circumstance, is made to create in the nobles of Stephen's party a desire for peace. The time referred to is when, on the return of Stephen from London, the king and

* "History of Henry II."

† Gervase, p. 1363.

Henry drew up their armies in battle array in a field on the east of Wallingford.

"That day," says Paris, "Stephen's horse reared furiously thrice as he advanced to the front to array his battle, and thrice fell with his fore feet flat to the earth, and threw his royal rider. The nobles exclaimed it was a portent of evil, and the men murmured among themselves;* on which the great William de Albini, the widower of the late dowager Queen Adelicia, taking advantage of the pause which this superstitious panic on the part of Stephen's adherents had created, to address the king on the horrors of civil war, and reminding him of the weakness of his cause and the justice of that of his opponent, implored him to avoid the effusion of his subjects' blood, by entering into an amicable arrangement with Henry Plantagenet."

It will be observed that, in the charter, especial reference is made to the submission of those who had the custody of the Castle of Wallingford, as if the lord of it, Brien Fitzcount, and his retinue were to be treated with exceptional severity for their long and determined opposition to Stephen; or was it considered that extra caution was necessary in order to keep so important a post out of Henry's hands? Considering that not less than one thousand one hundred and fifteen castles had been built in England by the king's permission, it can be no matter of surprise that the demolition of the greater number of them, if not all, should be decreed as a necessary measure for the internal security of the empire. Had that of Wallingford been one of the castles to be razed, and had the valiant though haughty Brien been saved the indignity of doing homage to Stephen, he would probably have shared to some extent in the general joy that followed the proclamation of peace; but his castle was to be retained, and the baron and his retinue, as we learn from the Chronicle of Brompton, observed the convention and delivered hostages for their fidelity. His after-life shows how severe was the blow.

"Partly † out of fear that King Stephen would not be heartily reconciled to him, and partly out of sorrow that both

* Miss Strickland, on the authority of Henry of Huntingdon; Lord Lyttelton; Speed; Tierney's "Arundel."

† Kennett, vol. i. p. 153.

his sons were lepers, and confined to the Priory of Bergavenny, with great devotion he took upon him the cross, and went to Jerusalem, leaving the inheritance of Overwent and the castle of Grosmunt to Walter his kinsman, Constable of England, son to Milo de Gloucester, Earl of Hereford; and to the said Milo and his heirs, the castle and whole honour of Bergavenny, to be held of him the said Brien and his heirs, by the service of three knights' fees.* His wife, Maud de Wallingford, to avoid the storms of civil war, had before retired into Normandy, and there taking a religious habit, she granted [about the year 1149], at Bec, to the church of St. Mary's and monks of that place, Great Okeburn and Little Okeburn, in com. Wilts, of her own inheritance, with consent of Henry, Duke of Normandy, and Maud, the Empress; testibus—Ricardo Cancellario, Roberto de Curceio, Roberto de Novoburgo, etc. To the original charter was a seal appended, with an impress of her own person in religious habit, with an olive branch in her right hand, and beads on the left arm, with this inscription in the oval margin, '*Sigillum Matildis Domine Waringfordie.*' † This Okeburn was afterwards made a cell to the Abbey of Bec, in Normandy, and confirmed to them by King Henry the Second, ‡ and by King Edward the Fourth annexed to Windsor College. § The date of this donation by Maud de Wallingford was much too early computed in a petition to the king and Parliament, in the eighth of Edward the Third—'ubi recitatur quod Matilda de Walengford dedit maneria et ecclesias de Grand Okeburn et Litle Okeburn Abbati de Becco, tempore Conquestoris.' ||

The seal whereby Maud made the grant to Bec Abbey, is figured in the "Monasticon Anglicanum," vol. vi. pt. 2, p. 1016. Her husband Brien also made considerable benefactions to the Norman monastery, where, according to the "Itinerary" of Archbishop Baldwin, his two leprous sons were placed, and it would seem they died there. Brien died in the Holy Land.

We must not omit to mention that Robert d'Oyley and Hugh Bigot were among the great men who took part with

* Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," vol. i. p. 469.

† Dugdale, "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. i. p. 582.

‡ Ibid., tom. ii. p. 954.

§ Ibid., tom. iii. p. 71.

|| Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. xl. fol. 1.

the empress against King Stephen, and Gilbert Basset, the feudatory vassal of Brien Fitzcount, was conspicuous for his adherence to her cause, during every turn of fortune.* His relative, Randolph Basset, was a Baron of the Exchequer during this reign.

Among the official documents bearing the royal signature, as issued by royal authority, dated at Wallingford, are the following :—

Writ of King Stephen to (Joceline de Bailol,) Bishop of Salisbury and others, confirming the gift made by William II. to the Church of Abingdon of the Church of Sutton. Dated at Wallingford, no year stated.

Writ of King Stephen to (Alexander,) Bishop of Lincoln and others, confirming to the Church of Abingdon the Church of Newnham, with its appurtenances, the gift of William de Curci. Dated at the siege of Wallingford.

A year had scarcely elapsed after the death of Prince Eustace, when Stephen's death gave the crown to Henry, whose connection with Wallingford will be considered in the next chapter.

Upon the Treaty of Wallingford being concluded, a coin, bearing two rude figures (Stephen and Henry), is supposed to have been struck here on the occasion. See note in Rading, p. 167.

* Leland, "Antiquarii Collectanea."

CHAPTER IX.

HENRY II. TO JOHN—1154 TO 1216.

A.D. 1154, 1 and 2 Henry II.

PURSUANT to the treaty initiated at Wallingford, and afterwards duly ratified, Henry Plantagenet succeeded to the throne on the death of King Stephen. And when he had taken the usual oath to the Crown of England, which he received at the hands of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and, after having made choice of a grand chancellor, he began a Parliament held at Wallingford.* The 25th of October was the day of his accession, and two years before (1152) he had married the beautiful but intriguing and inconstant Eleanor of Aquitaine, the divorced Queen of France. One of the first acts of the king was to seize as an escheat† the Castle and honour of Wallingford, which Brien Fitzcount and Maud his wife, having both entered a religious life, had ceased to hold.

It would seem that the king, being desirous like his predecessor to maintain his royal dignity without laying taxes on his people, looked into the state and condition of his revenues, and resumed those lands which had been alienated or detained from the Crown. The Castle and honour of Wallingford fell under the latter class, and the seizure took place soon after the accession. A precept was directed to the sheriff to charge the Constable of Wallingford to make a legal inquisition of the tenure and conveyance of the honour, and a return‡ was made of which the following is a translation :—

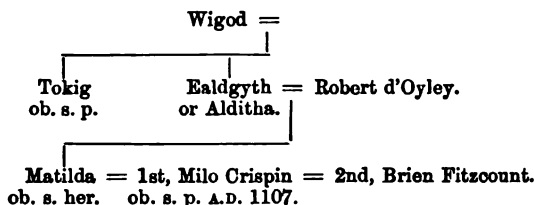
* Samuel Daniell's Chronicle.

† Lipscombe, "Testa de Neville, in the Exchequer."

‡ Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. iv.

"To his most beloved lords, the Justiciaries of the lord the king, and the Barons of the Exchequer, the Constable of Wallingford, greeting ;—Know ye that I have diligently made inquisition concerning the mandate of the lord the king, transmitted to me by the sheriff, through the knights of my bailiwick, and of the inquisition thus made: 'Wygod of Walingford held the honour of Walingford in the time of King Harold, and afterwards in the time of King William the First, and he had by his wife a certain daughter, whom he gave to Robert Doily; the same Robert had by her a daughter named Matilda, who was his heiress; Milo Crispin married her, and had with her the aforesaid honour of Walingford. When Milo died, the lord the king Henry the First gave the aforesaid Matilda to Brien Fitzcount. The same Brien and the aforesaid Matilda, his wife, in the time of King Stephen, gave themselves to religion, and the Lord Henry, the son of Matilda, the empress, seized the aforesaid honour.'"

Pedigree of Wigod, from the above and other documents—



On the authority of an entry in the corporation "ledger," it appears that "Henry II. granted the charter of liberties for the first mayoralty at Wallingford, in the year 1155," which was about thirty-two years before the grant by Richard I.* of a charter for the first Mayor of London, who, according to "Lib. de Ant. Legibus," p. 1, *et seq.*, was elected in 1187, the chief magistrate of that city having previously been called the bailiff or port-reeve. "London," says Brady, "had not a mayor until the 1st Richard I., and, perhaps, might not have a community until the second of his reign."†

Another entry in the ledger runs thus—

"FREEDOME.

"There is a charter of agreement in our annals which

* See *post*.

† Brady on "Burghs."

hath articles of and for estreate of particulers, for our freedom in Wallingford, confirmed and granted by Henry II., in the tyme of Parliament holden in Wallingford, in a° 1155."

An early act of the king was to settle the succession of the crown upon his two sons, William and Henry. The eldest, as we learn from the Chronicles, was born within six months after the royal marriage, and the youngest in February, 1155. In order to seal their succession, the lay and spiritual barons assembled in Parliament at the Castle of Wallingford, and took solemn oaths of fidelity to the king and his heirs. But William's death occurred the next year, and he was buried at Reading, at the feet of his grandfather, Henry I. Henry married Marguerite of France, and died in 1182, leaving Richard, surnamed Cœur de Lion, as the next in succession.

The king soon afterwards held another Parliament at Wallingford, where an Act was passed to expel all strangers out of the land. This was greatly to the satisfaction of the people, says Daniels,* who were overrun and pestered by multitudes from all parts, whom the wars had drawn hither, especially Flemings and Picards, and whom King Stephen, when he found the English unfaithful to him, entertained and chiefly trusted.

In a former page, I have adverted to the dispute between the men of Wallingford and the Abbot of Abingdon, in connection with the market of that place, in which the former body was worsted. Now arose an opportunity for the king to show his gratitude for the services the town had rendered, in "helping him to the kingdom," and the inhabitants were not slow in availing themselves of it, and pressing their claims on the Crown for a reversal of the adverse decision.

After referring to the charter of Henry I., and the enjoyment by the monks of the abbey of the privilege of a market thereby granted, the author of the "*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*"† gives the particulars, of which the following is, in the main, a translation:—

"This condition of affairs remained till the accession of the second Henry, when the inhabitants of Wallingford united with the men of Oxford in a combined attack upon the obnoxious privilege enjoyed by their neighbours at

* Daniels' "*History of Henry II.*"

† Vol. ii. pp. 227, *et seq.*

Abingdon. They stated that the abbot had no such authority as he claimed under the charter of Henry the First. The king gave a ready ear to this *ex parte* statement, and furnished the complainants with a written authority for limiting the market at Abingdon to the sale of a few trifling commodities. Armed with this authority, and supported by the Constable of the Royal Castle, the men of Wallingford marched to Abingdon, and, in the king's name, they proceeded, by force, to clear the market. But this was too much for the patience of the abbot's retainers, who mustered in such numbers and exhibited such spirit, that they ignominiously expelled their enemies from the town, and thus, it was said, vindicated the legality of their charter.

"Disappointed, but not defeated, the men of Wallingford lost no time in crossing the Channel, and having told their own version of the story to the king, they obtained from him a writ. . . . It ordered that a county court should be summoned; that from it should be selected thirty-four aged men who could testify by oath what had been the usage, during the reign of the king's grandfather, and that the matter should be decided according to their finding. . . . The jurors declared that they had distinct and personal knowledge of the existence of a full market, for the sale of all vendible productions, at the time specified in the writ.

"The stake was sufficiently high to warrant another move in the game. The appellants once more addressed themselves to the king, and urged that upon the jury there had sat some persons who were connected with the abbey, and that favour, and not truth, had ruled their finding. A new writ was accordingly issued. The men of Wallingford were summoned to attend, and not only they, but the whole county of Berkshire, and all who belonged to the monastery, were held to be disqualified from acting as jurymen.

"The cause was heard at Oxford. It ended in a drawn battle, for the jurors could not agree as to their verdict. True to their party, the men of Wallingford swore that, during the reign of Henry the First, nothing save bread and beer had been sold within the market. The burgesses of Oxford admitted that it was a 'full market,' but that produce was not conveyed thither by ships [barges] or waggons. Such of the jurors as came from other parts of the county,

gifted with better memories, conceded the privilege demanded, in all respects save one. They hesitated to affirm that produce conveyed by ships of burden had been admitted into the market; but they recollected that they had seen goods carried thither by the ships which belonged to the abbot. The Earl of Leicester, who sat as the chief justiciary, pronounced no sentence, but went to the king, who was then at Salisbury, with a full report of the proceedings. And then and there he added his own testimony for the king's guidance in his decision. It was to the effect that he, the justiciary, had himself seen the market in full operation in the time of King Henry; and, moreover, that his recollection extended as far back as the time of William the Conqueror, in whose reign he had been educated within the walls of the monastery. Satisfied with his evidence, the king affirmed the previous judgment, and the abbot was again triumphant.

"Defeated at law, the appellants resorted to another expedient. They tried intimidation—a dangerous experiment with a Norman ruler, especially one with the temper of the first Plantagenet. They appeared before the king at Reading, and told him that if the market at Abingdon continued, they could not hold their feudal tenures. Indignant at their pertinacity, the king drove them roughly from his presence, and commanded that from that day forward a market, in the fullest acceptation of the word, should be held at Abingdon, at which might be admitted the abbot's ships, while all others should be excluded.

"Thus ended the dispute, but not until it had entailed much labour upon the Abbot Walkelin." Left in the quiet possession of the privilege for which they had contended so energetically with their rivals of Wallingford, we may conclude that the monks availed themselves of it to the uttermost, and bought and sold and got gain; and that the townsmen shared in the benefit which resulted from the wealth and the enterprise of the cloistered traders. But the feeling was a growing one that this was no legitimate employment for men of religion; and by a writ issued in the 16th Edward III., it was declared to be illegal for men in holy orders to occupy themselves in commerce. This class must have embraced many of those who led a monastic life.

The royal displeasure which the men of Wallingford incurred by clinging to their assumed rights with such unreasonable pertinacity, was not of long duration; for we find that the king, very soon after the adverse decision, granted to them a charter of privileges far more ample, it is said, than to any other place in the kingdom.

A.D. 1156, 2 and 3 Henry II. This was about the time when the charter was granted. The Castle and honour of Wallingford was then in the king's hands, having been seized the year before as an escheat. The inhabitants of Bicester, being within the honour, shared in these privileges to a great extent.

The following is a copy of the charter, with a translation:—

Henricus, Rex Angliæ, Dux Normanniæ, et Aquitaniæ, Comes Andegaviæ, Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Comitibus, Baronibus, Justiciariis, et omnibus ministris suis et fidelibus totius Angliæ et Normanniæ, Francigenis et Angligenis;—

Præcipio vobis ut Burgenses mei de Wallingford firmam pacem meam habeant per totam terram meam Angliæ et Normanniæ ubicunque sint. Et sciatis me dedisse et concessisse eis in perpetuum libertates et leges suas omnes et consuetudines bene et honorifice, sicut melius et honorabilius eas habuerunt tempore Edwardi Regis, et tempore atavi mei Regis Willielmi et ejus filii alterius Regis Willielmi, et tempore Henrici Regis avi mei; scilicet, Gildam Mercatorum, cum omnibus consuetudinibus et legibus suis libere habeant, ne

TRANSLATION.

Henry, by the grace of God, King of England, Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine, and Earl of Anjou, to the Archbishops, Bishops, Earls, Barons, Justiciaries, and all my ministers and faithful people in all England and Normandy, French and English, greeting;—

I command you that my faithful burgesses of Wallingford shall have my firm peace throughout my whole land of England and Normandy, in what place soever they be. And know ye that I have given and granted to them for ever all their liberties and laws and customs well and honourably, as well and as honourably as they have had them in the time of Edward the king, and in the time of my great-grandfather, King William, and of his son, the other King William, and in the time of my grandfather, King Henry; to wit, that they may freely have a Guild of Merchants, with all its customs and laws, so that no reeve of mine nor any justice of mine shall

præpositus meus, vel aliqua Justicia mea de Gilda eorum se intromittat nisi proprie Aldremanus et Minister eorum. Et si Ministri mei vel aliqua Justicia aliquo placito vel occasione calumpniaverit illos, vel in causam ducere voluerit, prohibeo et præcipio ne ullo modo respondeant nisi illorum proprio portimoto. Et si ipse Præpositus eos aliqua occasione sine calumpniatore implacitaverit, non respondeant. Et si aliquo forisfacto vel recto judicio aliquis eorum forisfactus fuerit per rectam considerationem Burgensium erga Præpositum, illud emendet. Prohibeo etiam et præcipio ne aliquod Mercatum sit in Craumersa, nec Mercator aliquis nisi sit Gilda Mercatorum; et si aliquis exierit de Burgo Walingeford, et vivat de Mercato ipsius Walingeford, præcipio ut rectum Gildæ Mercatorum, faciat ipsis Burgensibus, ubicunque sit infra Burgum vel extra. Sciatis præterea me dedisse et concessisse in perpetuum omnibus hominibus Walingeford plenam quietanciam de annuo Gablio meo, quod solebant reddere de Burgo Wallingford de eo, scilicet, quod ad me pertinet in Burgo. Has leges, et consuetudines, et libertates, et quietancias omnes dono eis, et concedo imperpetuum, et alias omnes quas poterunt ostendere antecessores suos habuisse libere, quiete, et honorifice, sicut cives mei Winton' melius unquam

intermeddle with their guild, except properly their alderman and minister. And if my ministers or any justice shall have challenged them on any plea or action, or shall have willed to bring them into any suit, I do prohibit and command that they do in no wise answer, unless at their own proper portmote. And if he, the said reeve, shall have impleaded them on any action without a challenger, they may not answer. And if on any forfeiture or right judgment any one of them shall be forfeit by the right consideration of the burgesses towards the reeve, he shall amend it. I also prohibit and command that no market be in Crowmarsh, nor shall any merchant trade there, unless he be in the Guild of Merchants; and if any one shall go forth out of the borough of Wallingford, and shall seek a livelihood from the market of the same Wallingford, I command that he do the duty of the Guild of Merchants, to the burgesses themselves, wheresoever he be, whether within the borough or without. Know ye, moreover, that I have given and granted in perpetuity to all the men of Wallingford full acquittance of my yearly gabel, which they were wont to pay out of the borough of Wallingford, out of that, to wit, which belongs to me in the borough. All these laws, and customs, and liberties, and acquittances I do give and grant to them for ever, and all others which they can show that their ancestors had freely, quietly, and honourably, as my citizens of Winchester have at any time better had; and

habuerunt; et hoc pro servitio et labore magno quem pro me sustinuerunt in acquisitione hereditarii juris mei in Anglia. Concedo etiam eis quod ubicunque ierint in Mercationibus suis, per totam terram meam Angliæ et Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ et Andegaviæ, bi Gater end by Strande, bi Wode en bi Lande, quieti sint de tolneio et passagio, et picagio, panagio, et stallagio, et sheeres et hundredes, et sectis shirarum et hundredorum, de auxilio vicecomitum et servientium, de geldis et Danegeldis, de hidagio et Blodewite, et Bredewite, et de Muredredis, et de variis ad muredredum pertinentibus. Et operationibus castellorum et murorum et fossatorum et parcorum et pontium, et calcearum et omne consuetudine et exactione seculari et opere servili, ne super hoc ab aliquo inquietentur super forisfactura decem librarum. Prohibeo etiam et præcipio super eandem forisfacturam ne Præpositus Walingford scotallam faciat et ne Geresumam ab aliquo quærat, et quod nullam consuetudinem in Walingford statuatur quæ noceat Burgensibus villæ. Hujus donationis et concessionis, testes sunt Thedballus, Archiepiscopus Can-

this for the service and great labour which they underwent for me in obtaining my hereditary right of England.

I also grant to them that, wheresoever they shall go for the purpose of buying or disposing of their merchandise, throughout all my land of England and Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou,

By water and by strand,
By wood and by land,

They shall be quit of toll, passage, pickage, pannage, and stallage, from shires and hundreds, and from the suits of shires and hundreds, from aids by the sheriff and those serving under him, from geld and Danegeld, from hidage and blodewite and bredewite, from murders and the various consequences pertaining to a murder. And they shall not be compelled to work in the building of castles, walls, or entrenchments, or in parks, or in erecting bridges and causeways. They shall be free from all secular customs and exactions, and from all servile works, so that hereupon they be not disquieted by any one, upon forfeiture of ten pounds. I also prohibit and command, upon the same forfeiture, that the Reeve of Wallingford do not make scotale nor seek geresgive from any one, and that he establish no custom in Wallingford which may be hurtful to the burgesses of the town. Of this gift and grant, the witnesses are Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, H. Bishop of Winchester, Reginald Earl of Cornwall, Manasse Bysett, Warren Fitz-Gerald, William Fitz-Hamon, Henry de Ollio, Riulf de Saxinis, Hugh de

tuariensis et alii (*infra*). Data apud Oxeneford, Primo Idus Januarii.

Mara, H. de Oxeneford, and John his son. Given at Oxeneford, the first of the ides of January.

It has been supposed that Henry granted to Wallingford two charters—the one above set out, in the second or third years of his reign (1155, 1156); and the second charter, with additional privileges, in June in the sixth year of his reign (1160); but we find nothing in support of this supposition, and the letters patent* of the 4th and 5th William and Mary, in which the several charters granted to the town are recited, makes no mention of any second grant.

As the privileges and exemptions granted by the foregoing charter were peculiar and unique, an explanation of some of the terms therein, on the authority of Madox ("History of the Exchequer"), Bishop Kennett ("Glossary"), and others, may be useful, and will further show how largely the Wallingfordians profited by their devotion to the cause of the empress.

Pickage, picagium. A custom or duty paid at fairs and markets for breaking the ground, and pitching stalls, booths, etc.

Panage, pasnage, pastio, pannagium. Custom money paid for the running and feeding of hogs within a forest or wood; by some the word *pannage* is said to mean a tax on cloth.

Stallage, stallagium. Customary rent paid for the liberty of exposing goods for sale in stalls at fairs and markets by stallangers, or traders.

Aids demanded by the sheriff. Bailiffs of sheriffs had a customary fine to pay them.

Geld. Any tax or imposition. The mint-master of Wallingford had his house free from geld while he coined money. Domesday, *ante*, p. 206.

Danegeld. It was, says Freeman,† according to Bishop Richard, a tax laid on to find soldiers to defend the land against the invasions of enemies, especially the Danes. The

* Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. cxiv. p. 40; Brady's "Boroughs," App. 16.

† Vol. v. p. 139.

amount varied according to the different exigencies upon which it was levied. The laws of Edward the Confessor rate this tax at twelpence on every hide of land. Henry of Huntingdon computes it at two shillings on each hide, which is the more general computation, and the sum assessed by the Conqueror; but by John of Brompton it is put at threepence on a bovate or ox-gang. Originally it was a tribute which the Danes upon their frequent incursions exacted from the English as the price of peace and departure. It was continued under King Ethelred, abrogated by the Confessor, and revived by the Conqueror, as often as the necessities of invasion or of expedition required. It was severely imposed and augmented by William Rufus, computed among the king's standing revenue by Henry I.; and remitted by King Stephen,* according to the solemn promise he made by oath on his coronation day. But the tax was not wholly abrogated, but continued to be levied upon extraordinary occasions. In the twenty-seventh year of Henry II., it was reserved in the donation of lands to religious uses by Henry de Oily.

Hidage, hidagium. Common tax by way of royal aid or tribute, raised on every hide of land. William the Conqueror, an. 1084, imposed six shillings on every hide, William Rufus four shillings, Henry I. three shillings. When the lord paid hidage to the king, the tenants paid a proportion to the lord of the manor.

Bloodwite or blodewite. A customary fine paid as a compensation for the shedding or drawing of blood. An exemption from this penalty was granted by the king as a special favour, as in the present case.

Bredewite. Amercements arising from any default in the assize of bread.

Murders, muredredum. By the laws of Edward the Confessor, ch. 15, if any person was murdered, the murderer was to be apprehended by the town where the body was found, and delivered up to justice. If he could not be immediately taken, a respite of one month and a day was allowed to the said inhabitants, and if he was not then produced, a fine was imposed of forty-six marks, of which sum by the laws of Henry I., ch. 91, forty marks were appointed to be paid to the king, and six to the nearest relatives of the party mur-

* Henry of Huntingdon, p. 38.

dered. To be exempt from this fine was the special privilege granted by the charter; and although the term signifies also the crime of murder, we must, I think, restrict its meaning in this instance to the pecuniary punishment for not producing the murderer.

Operationes murorum. Building of castles, walls, etc. The service of work and labour done by inhabitants and inferior tenants in building and repairing the walls of a city or fortress. The tax levied for the expense was called *murage*.

Opus servile. Servile works. Servile tenants were appointed to do such work at the arbitrary pleasure of the lord; receiving their maintenance and wages at his discretion. A class of higher degree, called *villein*, were appurtenant to the manor, and held some cottage and land. These were burdened with a stated servile office, and a contribution in money exempted them from personal labour.

Scotale. "Any officer of a forest keeping an ale-house within the forest, by colour of his office causing people to come to his house and there spend their money for fear of his displeasure."* *Scotales* were abuses put upon the king's people by his forest officers, who invited them to drink ale, and then made a collection, to the end they should not vex nor inform against them for the crimes they had committed or should commit.†

Geresgive, gersumma, jeresumma. A fine paid for the entrance upon some place, estate, or office. Payment made in hand to bind or confirm a bargain, which we call "earnest." Referring to the above charter, Brady remarks, "Here it" (the term *gersumma*) "signifies plainly a bribe or money given to the king's officer to connive at and not to prosecute those that gave it in criminal cases."

There can be no doubt that the "charter of liberties," whereby not only the laws and customs enjoyed by the inhabitants of Wallingford during the reigns of preceding monarchs were confirmed, but greatly enlarged privileges, exemptions, and powers were added, such as perhaps were never before given to any other borough, was granted by King Henry to mark his sense of gratitude for the signal services the inhabitants of the town had rendered to him during his contest with King Stephen for the sovereignty of

* Jacob's "Law Dictionary."

† Brady.

England. This is not only evidenced by the express recital in the charter itself, but in the minute-book of the corporation the following entry is made:—

“Soon after his (Henry II.) coming to the throne, he granted them a charter of liberties, in regard, said he, in his particular, of the good service they did for us in helping us to the crown.” Man, in his brief manuscript, considers that the writer in the minute-book must have been under a mistake, because, as he states, there is no mention of any such inducement on the part of the monarch in the charter. But the mistake appears to rest with the author of the manuscript, who, it would seem, had access only to an imperfect translation of, or to an extract from, the charter, in which the recital in question did not appear.

Man also recognizes a grievous error in the entry in the corporation book, *ante*, p. 265, relative to the charter granted by Henry II., “in the time of a Parliament holden in Wallingford, anno 1155;” because, he says, “Parliaments were not called till many years afterwards, and because Oxford, and not Wallingford, was the place where, according to the charter, it was signed.” The term “Parliamentum” does not occur in the charter, but there is abundant authority for using the term; see *ante*, pp. 264, 265, 266. Of course, it need not be construed in the sense in which we now understand the word. It probably meant a great Council, or a Royal Council, and not the more representative assemblage of advisers, to which the same term was first applied in the reign of Henry III.,* if not in one recorded instance in the 15th King John (1213), when writs were addressed to all the sheriffs, requiring them each to send all the knights of their bailiwicks in arms, and also four knights from their counties, “ad loquendum nobiscum de negotiis regni nostri.”† This assembly was summoned to meet at Oxford; but it was not a Parliament, in the modern sense of the term. There are, however, those who contend that Parliament belongs either to the institutions of our Saxon ancestors, or to the feudal system, and we know that the Norman kings sought the advice and even consent of the more powerful among their

* This was the famous Parliament of January, 1265, convened by Simon de Montfort.

† Rot. Claus., 15 John, p. 2, m. 7 d.

subjects, and that Westminster Hall was built by William Rufus for their reception. This passage in the corporation record appears, therefore, to receive ample confirmation, and it must not be rejected as unsound because a term has been employed, the precise meaning of which may not, at the present day, be fully understood.

The charter is certainly dated at Oxford, but it does not follow that the long lavish list of privileges which it granted had not been previously determined on at a Council held at Wallingford or elsewhere, which, when embodied in a statutory form, received a formal confirmation afterwards.

The charter establishes the fact that there existed in Wallingford, in the times of the Confessor, of the Conqueror, of William Rufus, and of Henry I., a guild of merchants, or traders, "*Gilda Mercatorum*," with liberties, laws, and customs which were secured to the inhabitants by royal favour in these reigns. It also refers to the "*burgesses*" of the town—"My faithful burgesses of Wallingford," is the language employed by King Henry II.—but we must not conclude, from the employment of the term "*burgesses*," nor from the term "*burgh*" in the earlier reign, that any particular system of civic organization, in the form of a corporation such as exists now, prevailed in the burgh prior to the charter. It had its reeve (portreeve or magistrate), who was nominated by the king, as in London and other places. And in Saxon times the place was known as the burh or burg of Wallingford. "In the burg of Wallingford King Edward had eight virgates of land," etc., as we read in Domesday Book; but the word "*burg*" did not then bear the same signification as the modern form of the word, "*borough*," does at the present time. Its strict meaning appears to be a fortified place or stronghold, walled or fenced in and entrenched. Agreeably to this signification, we have here, surrounding the town, high substantial banks or ramparts; and the water channel or ditch guarding its outer sides. Most authorities agree that the early English boroughs were, in most cases, the relics of Roman *municipia*,* although some of them had lost their Roman names, as is supposed by Lysons to be the case with respect to Wallingford. But the term has, according to the "*Saxon Dictionary*,"† too many significations—"city, fort,

* Kemble, by Birch.

† Somner.

fortress, tower, castle, free borough, or town corporate"—to enable us to fix the time when the town first assumed its more corporate character.

We learn from the laws of Æthelstan that a mint was anciently one of the usual privileges of a burg; and we have seen that there was a mint here as early as the reign of this monarch (925),* and that coins are extant, from that reign downwards, which bear the name of Wallingford as the place of mintage. The situation of the mint, if not in the Castle, was probably at the south-west of the town, as seems to be indicated by the lane, which still retains its ancient name, "Goldsmiths." Ellis, in his introduction to Domesday Book, states, "The workmen who were employed in coining did not enjoy the same liberty with other artists, of following their own fancies and making such coins as they pleased; but they received all their dies from the Exchequer, and they wrought under the inspection of officers who were called 'Examinatores monetæ and Custodes cuneorum,' essayers and keepers of the dies, whose business it was to take care that their coins were of the standard weight and fineness."† This may account for the little variation there is in the coins of each separate reign.

But we must look to the guild, under the agency of which not only were the liberties and customs and privileges of its members ensured, but it would seem that the town generally enjoyed, under its organization, a degree of safety and protection which were not secured by the more exclusive or limited fraternities that existed in other towns. Endowed by royal authority with extensive powers from an early period, and having its laws and customs confirmed and enlarged by successive kings from the time of the Confessor, we may well suppose that there was in the guild of Wallingford an amount of legalized administrative power which, if it did not give to the guild the position of a governing body beyond the limits of its own membership, must have contributed largely to enforcing order and good government in the town, and to punishing offenders within its jurisdiction. It was thought, says Brady, "a great privilege at least, if not a livelihood, to be a member of a trading or merchant guild ;

* *Ants*, p. 170.

† Henry, "History of England," vol. vi., 8vo. edit. (1805).

and wherever a burgess dwelt, if he lived upon or used the mercate of Wallingford, he was to perform all duties to the guild, and be judged according to the rules and laws of it whether he lived within a burgh or without."

"Et si quis exierit de Burgo Wallingford, et vivat de Mercato ipsius Wallingford, præcipio ut rectum Gildæ Mercatorum faciat ipsis Burgensibus, ubicunque sit infra Burgum vel extra."

We may dimly trace the origin of guilds, as springing out of Roman *collegia* * and our Saxon institutions. First, we have the little association of neighbours for mutual protection against crime, and then, after various gradations, a more extended community was formed for that and other objects, until our ancient Norman kings granted charters for the creation of the merchant or trading guilds, whereby, among other privileges, order and free liberty of trade were to be secured. Of the Wallingford guild we shall have more to say hereafter.

It is not altogether clear what particular remission the king made to the men of the town, by acquitting them of "the yearly gabel which they were wont to pay out of that which belonged to him in the borough." The word "gabel," which is derived from the Saxon *gafel*, or *gafol*, means a tax or duty, chiefly on commodities; but we can hardly construe the passage as an acquittance of the ordinary taxes payable to the Crown, which it would seem, by Domesday Book, amounted, at the time of the Survey, to fourscore pounds; "it (the borough) pays of the firm fourscore pounds by the tale." If we give the word "gabel" the same signification as the word "firm" or "firma" in Domesday, we can then understand that what the king conceded was the yearly payment out of his property in the borough.

The provisions in the charter, with the aid of the "Glossary," throw an interesting light upon the usages and customs of the nation before and after the Conquest, and present to us a curious memorial of the manner in which our ancestors were formerly governed, and of the state of oppression under which they laboured. Not only were they forbidden to dispose of their merchandise in the fairs and markets of their own country without paying heavy exactions, but they were

* Coote's "Romans in Britain," p. 383.

at all times and in all places liable to be pressed to labour on all public works, whether of the monarch or lord, and they were subjected to a variety of hardships, under what is called in the charter, "secular customs." The charter also confirms the testimony of historians, that almost every crime might be compromised by paying a certain sum of money, which the injured party and his friends were obliged to accept as a compensation. Happy were the men of Wallingford to escape the hardships, the servitude, and tyranny of the age, and to enjoy the freedom of more civilized life!

Although it appears, by the recital in the charter, that large privileges were granted to Wallingford by the Confessor, the Conqueror, William Rufus, and Henry I., we cannot trace a single act of favour from the usurper, King Stephen; the loyalty of the town to the cause of his rival probably offered no encouragement for seeking to secure his aid.

This charter of Henry was confirmed and enlarged with additional privileges by King Henry III. The enlarged "*charta de libertatibus honorum de Berkhamsted et Wallingford*," may be seen among the Dodsworth MSS. in the Bodleian Library, vol. xxv. fol. 41.

A.D. 1157. Robert d'Oyley, jun., founder of Osney Abbey, died about this time, leaving Henry his son and heir, who was sheriff of the counties of Oxford and Berks from the third to the sixth year of this king's reign inclusive, and it would appear that he succeeded in this year to the barony of Hokenorton.

A.D. 1158. Nicholas de Wallingford is mentioned in the Second Part of this book, as monk of St. Albans, Prior of the Holy Trinity—a conventual church of Black Monks, near the west gate of the town, which was a cell of St. Albans—and afterwards (1182–1187) Abbot of Malmesbury. About this time he was entrusted by the king with an important mission to Ireland, which may be thus briefly noticed, the authorities being Stow's "*Chronicle of England*;" The Book of Howth in the Calendar of Carew MSS.; Walter's "*History of England*;" etc.

The king, soon after he ascended the throne, conceived the design of invading Ireland. The motives that first induced him to meditate an invasion are variously stated, but the

reason put forth implies that the country had sunk into a state of corruption with regard to morals and religion, that needed the strong hand of the king to eradicate. Nicol (Nicholas), Prior of Wallingford, was employed under the royal mandate to represent to the Court of Rome the state of depravity that existed, and the pious design the king had conceived for improving the unhappy country, by giving to it fixed laws and rooting out vice. With this object, Nicol was to request the pope (Adrian IV.) to grant the king permission to enter Ireland, promising to pay a yearly tribute * to St. Peter, from the land thus to be reduced to his obedience and to that of the holy see. The Council of Cashel had sent letters to the king, setting out the "unclean life and the horrible sins that the people of Ireland lived in." These letters, all unsealed as they were, Nicol conveyed to the Court of Rome, in support of the application he was to make. His mission was entirely successful. The pope issued a bull conformable to the most sanguine wishes of Henry, and, as a temptation to the ambition of the Irish prelates, whose Church up to that time had remained independent of the Church of Rome, he proposed to convert certain episcopal sees into archbishoprics. Nicol of Wallingford was made the bearer, with "Wyllyam Aldesmes son" (William Fitz-Adeline), of the bull, together with a ring, the token of the king's investiture as rightful overlord of Ireland.† The situation of English affairs obliged the latter to defer for a time any definite action, beyond sending the same emissaries across the Channel, to pave the way for ulterior measures.

Nicol, having read the royal message and explained the proffered privileges at a Synod of Bishops assembled at Waterford, obtained a general consent to the proposal, and thus an artful advance was made towards securing the dominion of the Irish people. The sequel is given in the Carew MSS., under the title of "Conquest of Ireland," wherein we read, "That pryvilege forthewith an othir that raddir was purchasyd of Pope Adryane, that was to for

* This tribute was to be a tax of one penny upon each house, which the Irish were to be compelled to pay.

† Henry II. never styled himself even "Dominus Hiberniæ." John took this title in his father's time, and it was continued till Henry VIII.'s style was altered to "Rex Hiberniæ," in 1541.

Alysandir, was send over ynto Irland by Nycole, Priour of Walynford, and Wyllyam Aldesmes sone."

In October, 1172, the king made an expedition to Ireland, with several of his barons, four hundred knights, and about four hundred soldiers on board a fleet of two hundred and forty sail. He landed at Waterford, with a professed design not to conquer, but to take possession of a kingdom already his own, as being granted to him by the pope. Most of the Irish submitted without resistance, and the king provided for the security of his newly acquired territories, by placing garrisons in the principal cities. Disorders, however, ensued on the king's departure, and a general revolt of the Irish occurred soon afterwards, which left the country, when the king died, in a miserable state of confusion.

Gilbert Basset, son of the holder of the seven knights' fees of the honour of Wallingford, died in the year 1162, leaving Thomas Basset his son and heir, who in the following year was Sheriff of Oxfordshire, and soon afterwards was appointed one of the Justices in Eyre.*

A.D. 1165. The king this year married his eldest daughter Maud to Henry, King of the Romans, for which the usual aid was paid by all that held of the king by military service. The system of raising scutages was adopted by the king as a commutation for personal service. He levied scutages from his baronies and knights' fees, being, as we are told,† disgusted with the species of military force which was afforded by the feudal institutions, and which, though it was extremely burthensome to the subject, yet rendered very little service to the sovereign. It would seem that the introduction of this tax, although devised at a time when the king was about to engage in a continental war, was really due to the extravagance of Becket, who, indulging in every kind of luxury and pomp at the cost of his sovereign, so exhausted the royal revenues that a new source of supply was necessary to meet the expenses of the State. It told heavily on the knights' fees of the honour of Wallingford, which at this time belonged to the Crown. Their contribution was large, as appears by a return made by the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, of which the following is an extract:—

* Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 388.

† Hume, vol. i. p. 401.

LIBER NIGER SCACCARIJ.

A record in the Exchequer, containing the certificates of the knights' fees held in *capite* of the king in the 12th Henry II., on an assessment of aid for marrying Matilda the king's daughter.

Carta militum feofatorum de Honore de Wareneford.*

Isti sunt milites feofati de Honore Wareneford.

Nicholas Basset	x. mil.
Gilebertus Basset	vii. mil.
Turstanus Basset	vi. milit., et duas partes milit.
Willelmus Pipard	vi. mil.
Petrus de Mara	iii. mil.
Gilbertus de Bella Aqua † . .	iiii. mil.
Walterus Canutus	v. mil.
Radulfus filius Almarici . . .	iiii. mil.
Robertus filius Alani	iii. mil.
Galfridus Boterel	iii. mil.
Terra Rogeri filii Aluredi . .	iii. mil.
Gilebertus Huscarl	iii. mil.
Galfridus de Glinton	iii. mil. et tertiam partem militis.
Robertus filius Amauri . . .	iii. mil.
Episcopus Saresburie	ii. mil.
Johannes Marescall	ii. mil.
Morevanus	ii. mil.
Walterus Foliot	ii. mil.
Hugo filius Ricardi	ii. mil.
Willelmus de Druevall	ii. mil.
Ricardus de Ceaseza	ii. mil.
Ruel de Alverso	ii. mil.
Alanus de Valen	ii. mil.
Radulphus de Chament	ii. mil.
Radulphus de Langetot . . .	i. mil.
Osmundus Basset	i. mil. et quartam partem militis.
Walkelinus Visus Lupi	i. mil.
Willelmus Corbet	i. mil.
Carbonell	i. mil.

* "Liber Niger." (Hearne), p. 184.

† Bellow.

Robertus Pipard	1. mil.
Simon de Stanton	1. mil.
Fulco Basset	1. mil.
Galfridus filius Sofridi	1. mil.
De Santresdon	1. mil.
Richier de Pangeburn	1. mil.
Urveius Malet	1. mil. et dim.
Radulfus de Deairel	dim. mil.
Ricardus de Eura	dim. mil.
Anketill de Wicumb	dim. mil.
Hugo de Mara	quartam partem militis.
Hugo filius Osberti	dim. mil.
Milo de Antiseie	1. mil. de Tidoura.
Hanelald de Bidun	1. mil. de Wadlint.
Stephanus filius Riulfi et Philippus de Westmerdale	dim. mil.

Summa XXIII., XIX. quart.

Carta filii Roberti, filii Petri.

Filius Roberti filii Petri	duas hidas.
Willelmus Cabius	duas hidas.
Walterus Archidiaconus	1. hidam.
Grualdus	1. hidam.
Radulfus Pinel	1. hidam.
Godelinus	1. hidam.
Huna	1. hidam.
Seivalus	1. hidam.
Rembert	1. hidam.
Bernerius	1. hidam.
Muriel	1. hidam.
Anketell Pinel	1. hidam, dim. virgat. minus.
Willelmus Toli	dim. hidam.
Galfridus Cocus	dim. hidam.
Gilebertus	dim. hidam.
Alfricus Pistor	1. virgat.
Uxor Roberti Vigil	1. virgat.
Filius Harvei	1. virgat.
Robertus filius Harold	1. virgat. et dim.
Uxor Caskelli	dim. virgat.
Oroldus de Pesemere *	dim. milit.
Hugo de Sottebroc †	1. milit.

* Peysmore, now Peasemore, near Newbury. † Shottesbrook.

Johannes Belet	quintam partem militis.
Johannes de Erlege	1. milit.
Alexander filius Ricardi	dim. mil.
Ricardus de Sifrewast	1. mil.
Walterus Walensis cum herode Geroldi de Ripa	unum mil. de feodo Willelmi Martel.
Alanus Basset tenet feodum	1. militis in Wicumbe.
Robertus de Veteri Ponte tenet feodum	1. mil. in Wicumbe.

A.D. 1167. In this year was levied the fourth scutage or tax to the king, at a mark for every knight's fee. By the return made upon inquisition, it appears that Henry d'Oyley held of the honour of Wallingford * thirty-two knights' fees and a half of the old feoffment, and one and a half fee and the twentieth part of a fee of the new feoffment; and Thomas Basset, whose family had a great share in the honour, held seven knights' fees therein; Nicholas Basset, ten knights' fees; Turstan Basset, six fees and two parts of a seventh; Osmund Basset, one fee and a fourth part; and Fulco Basset, one fee.

The said Thomas Basset, lord of the manors of Burcester, Wrechwike, and Stratton, in the honour of Wallingford, was, in the twenty-first year of this reign (1174), constituted one of the king's Justices in Eyre.† He was the son of Gilbert Basset before mentioned, who held the seven knights' fees of the honour, and was Sheriff of Oxfordshire before his promotion. A charter to the Church of St. Augustine, in Canterbury, granted two years afterwards, has, among other witnesses,‡ Gilbert Basset eldest son of Thomas, with Reginald de Courtney his father-in-law, and Thomas Basset his brother.

A.D. 1179. The same Thomas Basset was this year appointed a Justice in Eyre for Berkshire, Oxfordshire, and several other counties; and in the list of "Justices errant for Pleas of the Crown and Common Pleas, and for imposing and setting the Assizes," as set out by Madox,§ appears the name of William Basset also; but Thomas was the warlike baron, whose special military services procured for him the king's favour. The combination of the warrior

* Kennett, vol. i. p. 171.

† Kennett, vol. i. p. 181.

‡ Foss's "Judges of England."

§ "History of the Exchequer."

and the justiciary was not unusual, and, in addition to the latter dignity, the king, in acknowledgment of the great services rendered to him in war, granted to the judge the lordship of Hedendon, in the hundred of Bolenden (now Headington, in Bullingdon hundred), and a third part of that hundred without the north gate of Oxford; from which circumstance this branch of the distinguished family was afterwards styled the Bassets of Hedendon, and the third part of the hundred was called Basset's fee, the ownership of which was afterwards acquired by Brazenose College.*

A.D. 1182. Gilbert Basset, who was Baron of Hedendon, and lord of the three manors held by him of the honour of Wallingford, founded, this year, at Bicester, a religious house for the prior and eleven canons of the Augustinian order, and subsequently made large additions to the endowment, the particulars of which, with copies of the charters, are set out in Kennett.† He was one of the barons that attended the coronation of Richard I.‡

A.D. 1187. The warden or steward of the honour of Wallingford accounted to the king for several sums in pardons granted to the said Gilbert Basset, and to Ranulph de Glanvill, Gilbert Pipard, Alan Basset, Robert de Witefelde, and William Paganell.§

Before the 9th Henry I., Gilbert Basset, sen.,|| had given to the Abbey of Eynesham the tithes of his demesne in Stratton; and in the 29th Henry II., his grandson, Gilbert, had given one virgate of land in the same Stratton to the new Priory of Burcester. The latter, lying more convenient for the collection of tithes, was made a pretence of quarrel, till the difference being referred, in 1188, to Philip, Prior of St. Frideswides, and Richard of Ailsbury, they made this composition—that the tithes of Stratton should be annexed to the Priory of Burcester, in exchange for a pension of twelve shillings per annum to the Abbey of Eynesham.¶

In the same year, one William del Osse, of Cherlton, gave to the Knights Templars the meadow of Cheveste, for the

* Kennett's "Parochial Antiquities," vol. i. p. 183.

† Kennett, p. 185, *et seq.*

‡ Dr. Plott, p. 353. § Roger Dodsworth, MSS., vol. cxliii. fol. 5.

|| Kennett, vol. i. p. 201.

¶ Cart. de Eynesham, Cotton MS., Claud. A. viii. fol. 1.

health of the soul of King Henry, son of Maud, and also some lands between the house of Walter de Merlac and the great road, which is described to be "the Roman way from Allchester to Wallingford, leading over Otmoore," etc.* This is confirmatory of what has been previously stated respecting this Roman road.

Although the honour of Wallingford remained in the Crown during his reign, and the king evinced so great an interest in securing the prosperity of the town, we do not find that he ever made the Castle his place of residence. The palace at Woodstock, with its fair occupant, seems to have been his principal country resort.

There are coins of this reign struck at Wallingford in the cabinets of the Museum, the moneyer's name being Fulcre, and the place of mintage being styled Vali or Wali.†

A.D. 1189, 35 Henry II., and 2 Richard I. Henry II. died on the 6th of July, and his son Richard was crowned in London on the 3rd of September following. Gilbert Basset, son of Thomas, the sheriff and judge, was one of the attendants at the coronation, as a baron and feudatory tenant of the honour of Wallingford.

The king, before his coronation, gave to his brother John, who was the sixth son, and afterwards King of England, the honour of Wallingford, by which means he became lord of the manors of Bicester and Little Marlow,‡ and the possessor of other large estates within the honour; he held them, however, as in all baronies, by ancient tenure in chief of the king. The honour formed only a small part of the bounty of the king to his brother, but, profuse as the favours bestowed on him were, they failed to secure anything but the basest ingratitude. Soon after the king's departure on a crusade to the Holy Land, the Castle of Wallingford, by agreement with his viceroy, the chancellor, was delivered into the hands of the Archbishop of Rouen (who had been appointed by Richard to assist the chancellor), to keep in his

* Kennett, vol. i. p. 203, and references therein.

† Ruding, vol. ii. p. 31.

‡ In one of the volumes of the Harleian Collection, referring to the knights' fees for the county of Berks, *temp.* Henry III., Little Marlow is there said to belong to the honour of Wallingford, except one half yard land belonging to the fee of Marlow and Hambleton.

possession till the king's return from Palestine.* The prince, with an utter disregard of the solemn oaths he had taken, openly threw aside his allegiance to his brother, allied himself to Philip, King of France, and planned an invasion of his brother's kingdom. To effect his object, he sent over Adam of St. Edmunds, one of his household, with letters, for the purpose of having his castles fortified against the king. The design was frustrated, by the capture of the messenger and the seizure of the letters; † but the prince pursued his traitorous course. After having enabled the French king to take possession of several fortresses in Normandy, one of his first acts was to besiege the garrisons of the castles of Wallingford and Windsor. He made himself master of both these fortresses, and turned out the Archbishop of Rouen.‡ His next act was to aspire to the throne, as heir of his brother,§ of whose death he pretended to have received intelligence; but his treason and deception were apparent, and he was rejected by all the barons, who raised an army and prosecuted a successful war against him. Castle after castle, including those of Wallingford and Windsor, fell into the hands of the royalist party, under the brave Earl of Leicester,|| and the traitor was obliged to beg a truce and return to his ally in France.

A.D. 1193. The truce was granted till November, and the Castle of Wallingford, with that of Windsor, was entrusted to Eleanor, the queen dowager.¶ During this critical state of affairs, the king was set free from his prison in Germany, on payment, by way of ransom, of 150,000 marks—about £300,000 of our present money—which was raised by a levy on each knight's fee in England, on those who held under feudal tenures, and by voluntary subscriptions and contributions.

A.D. 1194. On the king's return on the 20th of March, the barons held a great Council, at which they confiscated all Prince John's possessions in England, on account of his treason, and assisted in reducing the castles and fortresses** which remained in the hands of his adherents. According to Daniel's "History of Henry II.," the followers of John, soon after he

* Holinshed.

† Roger de Hoveden, by Stubbs.

‡ Chron. Thomæ Wikes; Roger de Hoveden; "Life of King Richard."

§ Hoveden, vol. iii. p. 204.

|| Ibid., pp. 207, 724.

¶ Ibid., p. 204.

** Ibid., p. 737.

had been excommunicated by the bishops, surrendered the Castle of Wallingford, with that of Windsor, on condition that their persons and estates should be saved, and all acts of disloyalty pardoned.

Deserted by the French king, the base prince threw himself at his brother's feet, and, through the intercession of Queen Eleanor, obtained his pardon, but neither his domains nor the castles he formerly possessed were restored to his keeping.

The Bassets before mentioned, who had adhered to Prince John, were also forgiven. Gilbert Basset purchased the king's pardon for eight pounds; Thomas Basset, for his pardon, paid four pounds; and Alan Basset the like sum, as appears from the account of escheats within the honour of Wallingford.*

In the sixth year of his reign, Richard I. issued his writ to the Archbishop of Canterbury, authorizing tournaments in England, in five places therein named, of which Wallingford, written Warineford, is one.

The following is a translation of the king's permission †:—

“Richard, etc., greeting;—

“Know ye that we have granted that tournaments may be held in England in five places,—between Salisbury and Wilton; between Warwicke and Kenelingworth; between Stanford and Warineford; between Brakele and Mixeberi; and between Blie and Tikehill: so nevertheless that the peace of our land be not broken, nor the justiciary power diminished, nor damage done to our forests.

“And each earl who wishes to tilt there shall give to us twenty marks; and each baron ten marks; and each knight who holds land four marks; and each knight not holding land two marks; but no foreigner shall tilt there.

“Wherefore we command you, that at the day of the tournament you have there two clerks and two of your knights, to take the oaths of the earls and barons, that they will satisfy us for the aforesaid money before the tournament. And they shall permit no one to tilt before he shall have given such satisfaction. And they shall keep account of how much they have received, and from whom. And ten marks for this charter to our use you may take.

* Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. xlvii. fol. 70.

† Cottonian MS., Claud. c. iv. fol. 233.

"The Earls of Salisbury, Clare, and Warren are pledges.

"Witness ourself at Bishopstowen, the 22nd day of August.

"This is the mode of keeping the peace by the joustera."

[Then follow directions to be observed, etc.]

These tournaments, in which the lives of the champions were sometimes in danger, had been suppressed by Councils and decrees of popes since the days of King Stephen, but were revived by King Richard, who, although, as we are told, unmercenary and generous, was forced to look not only to the military advantage to be derived from the practice, but to pecuniary profit, owing to the exhausted condition of the royal coffers, and the need of supplies to carry on the war with France.* Hence the necessity of the imposition which the charter granted, decreeing that whoever held or was present at a tournament, should pay for a licence in proportion to the rank he bore. Tournaments, however, were not long continued, for the mischief and personal injuries arising from the sports were found to be so great that they were ultimately restrained by Act of Parliament, in the reign of Henry III., under the penalty of forfeiture of their estates by the heirs of offenders. Nevertheless, the custom was not entirely abandoned till the time of the Tudor sovereigns.

As before observed, another profitable source of royal income was derived from licences to marry. No "virgin or widow possessed of lands held in *capite* from the Crown" was allowed to marry without the king's licence. Those who were connected with the honour of Wallingford and these parts appear to have paid about this time large sums for the purchase of his Majesty's favour. Gilbert Basset, within this year, gave a fine of one hundred pounds to the king for leave to marry his only daughter and heiress, Eustatia, to Thomas de Verdon, a baron; who, upon the marriage taking place, paid to the king three hundred marks for the livery of certain lands and castles of his father Bertram, the son of Bertram who came in with the Conqueror, and who held the manor of Fernham Royal, in Bucks., by the service of providing for the king's right hand a glove upon the day of his coronation, and of supporting his right arm the same day, during the time that the royal sceptre was in his hand.†

* Berington, "History of Henry II., Richard, and John."

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 472; and Kennett.

The above-named Thomas de Verdon died five years after his marriage to the heiress, namely, in 1199; whereupon Gerald de Camvill, Lord of Middleton, gave one thousand pounds sterling to the king for the wardship of the young widow, whom he married to his son Richard.* In the next year, Gilbert Basset was Sheriff of Oxfordshire and Berkshire, and in his accounts it appears that Robert de Piselee was indebted to the king sixty marks and one horn, to be reconciled to the king and to enjoy in peace Alice de Chesterton, whom he had married without the king's licence.

In A.D. 1197, the king ordered the removal of all kiddles and weirs from the river Thames.†

A.D. 1199, 10, Richard I., 1 King John. King Richard, dying this year on the 6th of April, was succeeded by his brother John, which change, says Kennett, "much raised the interest of Gilbert Basset, Lord of Burcester, and Gerald Camville, Lord of Middleton, who had both been great adherents of Prince John."

In the two volumes of the "Rolls and Records of the Court of King's Justices,"‡ appear entries, in Latin, of several judicial proceedings relating to Wallingford, including the record of affidavits, and other legal documents.

A.D. 1201, 2 King John. The martial zeal of the Bassets and other barons was put to the test in this year, the occasion being an insurrection in Normandy, which was thus brought about.

King John had become much enamoured of Isabella of Angoulême, who was married to the Count of la Marche, the eldest son of Hugh IX., who governed the province called French Poitou. The marriage, by reason of her tender age, had not been consummated, but, according to the custom of the time, she had been consigned to her betrothed for the purpose of education. The passion of the king was superior to all obstacles, and having procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella. This led the injured count to challenge the king to mortal combat, to which he replied that if the count wished for combat, he would appoint a champion to fight with him. The feelings of the count were not so

* Roger Dodsworth, MS.; Rot. Pip. Linc.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, by Hardy, vol. i. p. 67.

‡ "Rotuli Curie Regis," by Sir Francis Palgrave.

easily allayed. He sought to punish his insolent rival by exciting commotions in Normandy, where general discontent against the king prevailed. With the aid of his brother, the Count of Eu, he succeeded in raising an insurrection among the king's vassals, to suppress which recourse to arms was necessary. The king summoned together the barons of England, and required them to pass the sea under his standard, to quell the rebels. They refused to attend him unless he would promise to restore and preserve their privileges. By menaces and other means, many of the barons were induced to follow him, and on those who stayed behind he imposed a scutage of two marks on each knight's fee, as the price of their exemption from the service. Among the latter class was Thurstan Basset, who paid the king twenty marks for himself and the six knights' fees which he held of the honour of Wallingford.*

There were two ways of escaping personal service in the army under the king—either by obtaining a licence to stay at home, which was paid for by a scutage at the rate before mentioned; or by providing a knight as a substitute. These conditions attached to all barons and knights holding in *capite*, and were rigidly enforced. Even those who attended the king in person, as in the case of Gilbert Basset next referred to, were obliged to show their exemption from the fine by writ of *Quietus*. Among those who by themselves or their predecessors held possessions in Wallingford and paid scutage, were the Abbot of St. Albans, Geoffrey de Mandeville, Amory son of Robert lord of the manor of Bucknell, Robert de Chesterton, and Thomas de St. Walery. Gilbert Basset attended the king in the above expedition, and had a writ of *Quietus* for his seven knights' fees within the honour of Wallingford. These seven fees consisted of the manors of Coleham and Uxbridge, com. Middlesex; Pichelesthorne, com. Bucks.; Burncestre, Stratton, and Wrechwike, com. Oxon; Ardyngton, com. Berks; and Compton, in com. Wilts.

In A.D. 1202, a dispute arose between the Bishop of Worcester and the Abbot of Evesham, which resulted in a reference. The latter repulsed the bishop's attempts to visit

* Authorities: Hume; Madox, "History of the Exchequer," vol. i. p. 659; Kennett; Roger Dodsworth, MS.; Oblate Roll, m. 4, A.D. 1201; Public Record Office.

the abbey ; litigation ensued, which included this and various other complaints, and lasted several years. After a trial in England, a Council at Reading, a reference to the pope, and the arrival of the pope's legate in 1213, an agreement was entered into, under the auspices of the legate and other authorities, at Wallingford, on the 31st of October, whereby it was sought to settle the questions which had given rise to so much dispute ; * but the abbot refused to obey, although he had consented to the reference.

Hubert de Burgh,† chamberlain of the king in the year 1202, was appointed Constable of Wallingford Castle and Sheriff of the county of Berks.

On the 28th of March, 1205, the king commanded ‡ the Sheriff of Oxford to cause a fair to be held at Wallingford, to continue for four days, to wit, on Friday in Whitsun week and the three days following, for three years. The fair was to be free and quit of toll, and of all customs to such like fairs appertaining.

On the Patent Roll of this year is enrolled a licence from the king to William Fitzandrew, to have one vessel to ply in the Thames between Oxford and London, without any impediment to him or his men on the part of the Bailiff of Wallingford or the Bailiff of Windsor.

In the following year, Philip of Worcester was pardoned the scutage of three knights' fees, which he held of the honour of Wallingford. §

For the next century Wallingford had a stormy time of it.

The following extract from the "Itinerary" of King John, compiled from the attestations to the king's diplomas, by Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, late deputy-keeper of the public records, shows that the king was a frequent visitor at Wallingford, and that he travelled from place to place in quick succession. Journeys of thirty-five to forty and sometimes fifty miles in the day, appear, from the "Itinerary," to have been often accomplished ; which, from the then existing mode of travelling and badness of the roads, must have been attended with considerable labour and difficulty.

* "Chron. Abbatie de Evesham," by W. D. Macray, M.A.

† Patent Roll, 3 King John, m. 1.

‡ Close Roll, 6 King John, m. 6. § Ibid., 7 King John, m. 22.

Thus no sufficient time was allowed for the transaction of judicial business in the courts of justice, which followed the king's person during all his expeditions ; as a rule, justice was delayed, and oftentimes refused and perverted by a bribe. The inconvenience and scandal resulting from this state of things led to the establishment of the Court of Common Pleas at Westminster, and the suitors thus escaped the burden of being compelled, on the uncertain chance of getting redress, to follow the court of the monarch, of whom it is recorded that in one year he changed his residence upwards of one hundred and fifty times. With few exceptions, the king stopped either at a castle, a royal manor, or at some religious house, "in order that he might consume the provisions due to him, in lieu of rent from those places." *

In this and the preceding year (1204, 1205), the king was at Wallingford three times, according to the "Itinerary," and then there is a break till the year 1213. During part of this interval the king was abroad. He had provoked the displeasure of the court of Rome, was threatened by the pope with an interdict, and was afterwards excommunicated ; and, says Matthew Paris, he stood on such bad terms with his nobility, that he never dared to assemble the states of the kingdom. These circumstances account for the break in the "Itinerary" up to the year 1212, when the king met the discontented barons of the north at Wallingford, and an apparent reconciliation was effected, and the kiss of peace given, through the mediation of the pope's legate.†

A.D. 1206. The king granted to William Basset, son and heir of John, son, of Osmund Basset, one knight's fee in Okelee (Oakley, Bucks.), which Osmund held by the gift of Brien Fitzcount, lord of the honour of Wallingford, and in the next year Egeline, the widow of Gilbert Basset,‡ sued for a larger dowry out of the lands of her deceased husband ; whereupon an inquisition was made of the estate of which he died possessed, and among the places named therein are Wallingford, Ardington, Stoke, and Burnecestre.

A.D. 1212. In the latter end of the thirteenth year of the king's reign, an inquisition was taken of the honour of

* T. Duffus Hardy, *Archæological Transactions*, 1827.

† "Chronicle of Dunstable," Matthew Paris.

‡ Kennett, vol. i. p. 234.

Wallingford, by which it was found that Richard de Camville, of Middleton, held seven knights' fees within the said honour, of the inheritance of his wife, viz. Burcester, Wrechwike, Stratton, etc., lately the estate of Gilbert Basset.*

About this time the Bailiff and faithful men of Wallingford were ordered to furnish one hundred men, horses and arms, to be ready to serve the king, when and where required.†

A.D. 1213. After the king had surrendered his crown and kingdom to Pandulph, the pope's legate, a meeting was appointed to be held at Reading, for the restitution of what had been forcibly taken away from his subjects; but the king not keeping the appointment he had made with the bishops and others, it was adjourned to Wallingford,‡ where his Majesty freely promised to give them satisfaction in every particular, and to restore whatever had been illegally taken from the Church and other of his subjects. But this, says the historian (Daniels), "appeared a very small redress to the sufferers, for their castles that had been destroyed, their houses pulled down, and their woods and orchards despoiled; whereupon the king and the bishops agreed to leave the business to the arbitration of four of the barons, from whose judgment every one might receive satisfaction; but the legate, favouring the king as a vassal of the pope, threw so many obstacles in the way that nothing was done, except that the archbishop and bishops, who had been obliged to leave the kingdom, received fifteen thousand marks of silver as a remuneration."

The king was at Wallingford during seven days in the months of August, October, and November of this year, and, contrary to his usual practice, remained there on one occasion for three days—possibly on the occasion above referred to.

A.D. 1214. By royal warrant, dated 30th January in this year, the king committed to John de Wikenholt, Sheriff of Berkshire, "the Castle of Wallingford, with its appurtenances, to keep during our pleasure." §

By another royal warrant, dated 26th October, and directed to the Sheriff of Oxford[shire], the market of Crauemers

* Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. xlvii. fol. 146.

† Rot. Claus., 14 King John, m. 8, d.

‡ Holinshed.

§ Patent Roll, 15 King John, m. 4.

(Crowmarsh), "which is to the injury of our market of Wallingford," was prohibited and ordered to be stayed and entirely removed.*

Frequent were the king's visits to Wallingford during this and the next year, and rapid were his movements, occasioned, no doubt, by the growing discontent of his subjects and the general combination against him. His tyranny and cruelty, his endless exactions and impositions, his base ingratitude, and his vicious voluptuousness had enraged alike all classes, till at length the abduction of Matilda Fitz-Walter, surnamed the Fair, crowned the diabolical career of the royal felon, and completed the exasperation of the English barons, who flew to arms, and at the famous Runnymede, on the 15th of June, 1215,

"Made the fell tyrant feel his people's power."

After the signature of Magna Charta,† King John, infuriated by defeat, and with revengeful feelings, retired to his fortress at Windsor—the scene, as Miss Strickland observes, of many of his secret murders. No entry of the king's movements appears in the "Itinerary" during the months of June, July, and August; and although Wallingford is situated about midway between Windsor and Brackley, where the Court then resided, there is no evidence to show that the town was visited by him during those months. From Windsor he appears to have gone about stealthily here and there, planning his revenge on the barons. In the month of September following, he again appeared at Wallingford, and it was probably on this occasion that the barons, by the persuasion of the Earl of Nevers, whom they afterwards

* Patent Roll, 15 King John, m. 18.

† Under this Charter all the weirs on the river Thames were to be done away with.

The following clause therein relates to escheats :—

"If any one holds from any escheat, as from the honour of Wallingford, Boulogne, Lancaster, Nottingham, or from other escheats which are in our hands, and are baronies, and dies, his heir shall not give any other relief, nor do any other service for us, than he would do for a baron, if that barony was in the hands of a baron; and we will hold it in the same way as the baron held it, nor will we, on the pretext of such barony or escheat, hold any escheat or wardship of any of our subjects, unless he who held the barony or escheat held elsewhere from us in chief."

charged with perfidy, undertook, as Lingard informs us, to surprise him. Failing in their object, they raised the siege, and marched rapidly to Cambridge. But the king anticipated their object, and went from Wallingford direct to that place. The barons were foiled in their design; and now, aided by the pope and foreign troops, the king found himself in a condition to recall the liberties he had granted to his subjects, and to prove his power by committing the most horrid cruelties. The barons, unable to contend against the king, sought foreign aid in the person of Louis, the eldest son of Philip of France, who, with a powerful army, secured all the southern counties. "The castles of the king," says Hume, "fell daily into the hands of the enemy, that of Dover being the only one which, from the valour and fidelity of Hubert de Burgh, the governor, made any resistance to the progress of the heir of the French king." From this it would seem that Wallingford Castle was one of those that had transferred its allegiance at the time here referred to; but we are not warranted in arriving at such a conclusion. Every effort had been made by the king to put his castles in an efficient state of defence. "He sent letters to all the governors throughout England, ordering them to furnish their castles with all kinds of provisions and arms, and to strengthen their garrisons with soldiers, so as to be able to defend them at a day's notice."* According to Roger de Wendover, this was especially the case with the Castles of Wallingford, Corfe, Wareham, Bristol, and Devizes.

But the following extracts and translations from original records, nearly up to the time of the king's death, afford the strongest evidence that Wallingford was not one of the surrendering castles:—

"The king to the Sheriff of Berks, greeting;—We command you, that without delay you summon the body of your county, that immediately they do come and repair the moat of our Castle and our town of Wallingford, as of old they were accustomed to do."†

"The king to Richard de Kaunvill, Thurstan Basset, Robert son of Aumaric, Henry de Taydon, Robert de Valoines,

* Roger de Wendover, i. 327.

† Close Roll, 16 King John, m. 1 (A.D. 1215)

Hugh de Mara, Robert de Harpeden, William de Arches, Fulk de Rincot, greeting;—We command you, that each of you, immediately upon view of these our letters, send one knight with horses and arms to our Castle of Wallingford, to keep the same, as our constable of the same Castle shall direct you on our behalf. Witness ourself at Wallingford, the 2nd day of May, 16th year.” *

“The king to all his knights of the honour of the Castle of Wallingford, greeting;—We command you, that without delay you cause to be erected our houses in our Castle of Wallingford, for the purpose of dwelling in them, as in former times you were accustomed to do. Witness ourself at Wallingford, the 13th day of May.” †

“The king to Walter Foliot, Richard Morin, Amaric son of Robert, Geoffrey de Chaussy, Thomas Huscarl, Roger de Stanford, Geoffrey de Apelton, William Basset, Hugh de Druval, and Geoffrey son of Angot, etc.;—We command you, that upon view of these our letters, you come with horses and arms, as you are bound, to take the custody of our Castle of Wallingford, until otherwise thereof we shall command you. Witness ourself at Wallingford, the 14th day of April, 16th year.” ‡

“The king to his Barons of the Exchequer, etc.;—Allow to the Sheriff of Berkshire the cost which he expended, by the view and testimony of lawful men, in the reparation of the alures of our Castle of Wallingford. Witness, etc., 13th February, 16th year.”

Letters patent, dated 13th December, 17th year, commanding W. de Cantilupe, etc., to send to Wallingford a sufficient number of trustworthy men to receive there and conduct to the king three knights, prisoners taken in the castle of Rochester, to wit, Alan de Benington, Gervas de Girund, and Gervas son of Hamo. §

In the same form, the Constable of Northampton is commanded to send to Wallingford William de Aldithelege, Ralph de Clay, Henry de Oiry, and John de Mares. Dated at Winchester, 13th December.

Same date. The Constable of Wallingford is commanded to receive and safely keep four knights taken in the castle of

* Patent Roll, 16 King John, m. 3.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., m. 4 (1215).

§ Ibid., 17 King John, m. 12.

Rochester, to wit, Robert de Rokele, William de Balones, Hamo de Gatton, and Constantine de Mortimer.*

Same date. The Constable of Oxford is commanded to send to Wallingford a sufficient number of men in whom he can well confide, to receive and conduct to the castle of Oxford four knights taken in the castle of Rochester, to wit, Robert de Stok, William de Stanes, William de Bodington, and Hugh de Cassinton.†

Royal command, dated 4th June, to John de Wighenholt, Sheriff of Berkshire, and to the Constable of Wallingford, that they receive Philip of Worcester into the Castle of Wallingford, and by his counsel they together do what is necessary to strengthen the Castle.‡

Warrant from the king to the Sheriff of Berks and Constable of Wallingford, for the liberation of Robert de Rokesle, a prisoner there, he having "made a fine with us that he may have our grace, and his land, and be set free. Dated 3rd May, 17th year of our reign." §

"The king to all knights, sergeants, and bowmen, and to all others dwelling in garrison of his Castle of Wallingford, greeting;—Know ye that we have committed to our dear and faithful son our Castle of Wallingford, to keep, with all its appurtenances, during our pleasure. And therefore we command you that to him, as our constable and your superior, you be intendant, and perform whatever he may order for our fealty, advantage, and honour. In witness, etc., at Newark, the 17th day of October, in the 18th year of our reign. By Fulk de Breaute." ||

"The king to his dear and faithful J——, Sheriff of Berks;—Know ye that we will that one of your men, together with one of the men belonging to Richard our son, and one man of Walter Foliot, be on guard at daytime at the gate of our Castle of Wallingford, to keep the same, so that no one shall have entry therein, unless by the common consent of yourself and the aforesaid Richard and Walter. Also, we will that nightly the keys of that gate be delivered to our son Richard. But you the sheriff, as formerly you have done, shall have the charge of the county. Concerning the honour of Wallingford, you may enter it as before. Witness

* Patent Roll, 17 King John, m. 12.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid., m. 24.

§ Ibid., m. 2.

|| Ibid., 18 King John, m. 1.

ourself at Winchester, the 3rd day of June, in the 18th year," etc.*

"The king to all knights, freeholders, and others of the county of Berks, greeting ;—We command you, requiring you according to the fealty in which to us ye are bound, diligently and effectually to aid, as much as lies in your power, our dear son Richard in strengthening and protecting our Castle of Wallingford ; acting in such a manner that we may commend your faithfulness, and be henceforth more bound to you. Witness ourself at Devizes, the 7th day of June, 18th year, etc." †

EXTRACT FROM THE "ITINERARY" OF KING JOHN,
Showing on what days he was at Wallingford, etc.

A.D. 1204, Fifth year of reign.	A.D. 1205, Seventh year of reign.
<p>April 16. Freemantle and Woodstock. 17. Faringdon. 18, 19. Faringdon. 20 (Tues.). Wallingford. 21. Abingdon. 22. Oxford. 23. Oxford and Woodstock. 24–26. Woodstock.</p>	<p>Sept. 15–17. Marlborough. 18, 19. Freemantle. 20 (Tues.). Wallingford. 21. Wallingford and Brill. 22. Brill and Plumpton. Dec. 16. Tidmarsh. 18. Dorchester. 18–22. Brill. 25, 26. Oxford. 26, 27. Faringdon.</p>
A.D. 1213, Fifteenth year of reign.	A.D. 1214, Sixteenth year of reign.
<p>Aug. 21, 22. Bishop's Clere. 23. Ludgershall, Freemantle, and Tidmarsh. 24. Tidmarsh. 25 (Sun.). Wallingford. 26, 27. Wallingford. 28. Brill and Northampton. 29–31. Northampton. Oct. 27. Clarendon. 28–30. Freemantle. 31 (Thurs.). Wallingford. Nov. 1 (Fri.). Wallingford. 2. Oxford and Wallingford. 3 (Sun.). Wallingford and Woodstock.</p>	<p>April 7–13. Oxford. 13, 14. Wallingford. 14, 15. Reading. 29, 30. Marlborough. 30. Wallingford. May 1, 2. Wallingford. 2–6. Reading. 11, 12. Reading. 12, 13. Wallingford. 13, 14. Marlborough.</p>

* Patent Roll, 18 King John, m. 8.

† Ibid.

A.D. 1215, Sixteenth year of reign.	A.D. 1216, Eighteenth year of reign.
<p>April 6. Woodstock. 7-13. Oxford. 13 (Mon.). Wallingford. 14. Wallingford and Reading. 15. Reading and Windsor. 16-19. New Temple and Tower of London. 30 (Thurs.). Marlborough and Wallingford.</p> <p>May 1 (Fri.). Wallingford. 2. Wallingford and Reading. 12 (Tues.). Reading and Wal- lingford. 13. Wallingford and Marl- borough. 14. Marlborough and Trow- bridge.</p>	<p>Sept. 1. Chippenham and Ciren- cester. 2. Cirencester, Taynton, and Burford. 3-5. Oxford. 5 (Mon.). Wallingford. 6. Wallingford and Reading. 7. Reading. 8-13. Sonning. 14 (Wed.). Wallingford and Walton. 15. Walton, Aylesbury, and Bedford. 16. Bedford and Cambridge.</p>

CHAPTER X.

HENRY III.—1217 TO 1272.

A.D. 1217, 1 Henry III.

THIS reign is conspicuous, as far as Wallingford is concerned, for the great prosperity which that town attained in consequence of the munificent hospitality of Richard, King of the Romans, brother of the king. He spent vast sums of money upon the Castle, and made it his principal residence, while the frequent assembling of the Court at Wallingford added greatly to the trade and importance of the place.

A.D. 1218, 2 Henry III. It has been mentioned before, *temp.* William Rufus, that the weekly market at Wallingford was held on Sunday. On the 28th day of July in this year, the Sheriff of Berks was ordered to proclaim the alteration of the day to Monday.

The following documents refer to a fire which seems to have destroyed a room and a chimney in the castle:—

“The king to the Sheriff of Berks, greeting;—We command you that our chamber in the Castle of Wallingford, which was destroyed by fire, you cause to be repaired, and the cost which for such purpose you may expend, by the view and testimony of lawful men shall be allowed you at the Exchequer. Witness, etc., the 29th July.”*

“The king to the Sheriff of Berks, greeting;—We command you that you cause to be made a chimney in the chamber which was burnt in our Castle of Wallingford, for the repair of which you have had our order, and the cost of such chimney which you may cause to be expended shall be allowed you at

* Close Roll, 2 Henry III., m. 3.

the Exchequer. Witness, etc., at Wallingford, the 8th day of August.*

According to Dugdale,† it was in this year (1218) that the young king granted to his brother Richard, afterwards King of the Romans, the honour of Wallingford, and also bestowed on him the earldom of Cornwall; but it would appear, by the Charter set out hereafter, that the grant of the honour was not formally made till the fifteenth year of his reign; his minority would probably have been a bar to any such grant in the second year, when he was only twelve years old. And it appears, by Lysons and other authorities,‡ that the honour and Castle were then held by Ranulph de Blundeville, the brave Earl of Chester; who probably got possession of the castle during the contest between John and the barons, shortly before the king's death, and held it for the latter.

It was not till the year 1222 or 1223, on the application of Hubert de Burgh, who was then chief justiciary and the king's favourite minister, that the pope issued his bull, declaring the king to be of full age, and entitled to exercise in person all the acts of royalty.§ The declaration having been made, Hubert resigned into the king's hands the fortresses of the Tower and Dover Castle, which had been entrusted to his custody, and required the other barons to imitate his example, but they refused compliance; and among the number who persisted in detaining the king's castles, and threatened to form a conspiracy against the royal person, appears the name of the Earl of Chester. Ultimately, however, they abandoned their design, and most of the fortresses, including the Castle of Wallingford, were surrendered to the king.

A.D. 1220, 4 Henry III. The hall of the Castle was built in this year.||

A.D. 1226. The following extracts from the Liberate Roll relate to the restitution and vesting of land; and also to the payment of a debt for robes and cloaks, sent to Wallingford, for the use of the king and his brother Richard, to be used upon royal occasions:—

* Close Roll, 2 Henry III., m. 3.

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. pp. 761, 582.

‡ Matthew Paris; Corporation Ledger; Camden.

§ Matthew of Westminster, p. 282; Matthew Paris, p. 2220.

|| Camden, p. 158.

"Seizin. It is commanded that the keeper of the honour of Wallingford, . . . * of the land which Falco de Breante held to farm of Roger de Witchirch, which remained in the hands of our lord the king for a year and a day, to the same Roger." †

"The king to the Barons of his Exchequer, greeting;—Allow to Richard Reinger, of the debt which he owes to us from the time when he was our Sheriff of London, £14 3s., which he laid out by our order in robes and cloaks for our use, and the use of Richard our brother, at the same time, and which robes and cloaks he then sent to us by William our tailor to Wallingford. Witness the king at Westminster, the 11th February. By the justices." ‡

A.D. 1227. In this year the town of Wallingford, which had previously been seized into the king's hands, because the inhabitants did not appear at the Exchequer, upon the sheriff's view of his account, was restored by royal order directed to the sheriff. §

In order to explain more fully the above order, it may be well to state that || lords and others who claimed to have franchises, were to come yearly to the king's Exchequer, when the sheriff of their county was passing his account, and there they were to render an account of the issues of their franchise. But if the lords and others failed to appear by their bailiff or attorney, or did not make due return of the king's summonses, or made default in paying their fermes or other debts,—in these cases it was usual for the king to seize their franchise into his own hands.

The town was again seized for the arrears of the ferm, in the reign of Edward I.

In 1227, Philip de Albini, Sheriff of the county of Berks, had the honour of Wallingford committed to his custody. ¶

In July in the same year, William, son and heir of William son of Helias, did his homage, and paid one hundred shillings for his relief of one knight's fee in Oakley, held of the honour of Wallingford.**

* Illegible. † 10 Henry III., m. 6. ‡ Ibid., m. 2.

§ Exchequer Mem., Part I. ro. 3.

|| Madox, "History of the Exchequer," vol. ii. p. 244.

¶ Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 116, b.

** Roger Dodsworth MS., vol. lxviii.

In the same year, the monks of Bec, who, through the liberality of Miles Crispin, were possessors of the manor of Swyncombe, obtained the privilege of establishing an annual fair at their manor during three days on the eve, day, and morrow of St. Botolph. Afterwards, by an alteration of the roll, "the Feast of St. Martin" was inserted instead. The cause of this alteration is explained by the following precept, dated 4th June, 1227, addressed to the custos of the honour of Wallingford. After reciting the original grant and confirmation, the precept goes on to state, "Whereas we have heard that the fair to be held there is to the injury of the fair at our manor of Wallingford, as being on the same day as a fair ought and is accustomed to be held at Wallingford; therefore we command you to prohibit the aforesaid fair at Swyncombe without delay, so that the fair be not held there, till we have further commanded." *

A.D. 1228. The following document is interesting, as showing the number and names of knights in the honour of Wallingford who paid a fine rather than join the king's army abroad:—

"FINE ROLL, 13 HENRY III., MEMB. 4.

"*Fines of the Men of the Honour of Walingford.*

"The king to the Keeper of the honour of Walingford, greeting;—Know ye that Henry de Porta made a fine with us of one mark, that he might be quit of going beyond the seas with Us this time, in this our first voyage, which We are about to make after the feast of St. Michael in the 13th year of our reign, etc., and for having his scutage of the fifth part of one knight's fee, which of Us he holds in *capite* of the honour of Walingford; to wit, of the scutage, three marks for our army towards the aforesaid voyage. And therefore We command you that of the aforesaid voyage you permit him to be quit, allowing him to have his scutage for the aforesaid fifth part as is aforesaid. Witness the king at London, the 27th day of September."

In the same manner is written to the same keeper:—

"For Ralph Dayrel, who made a fine of three marks, that he might be quit of the voyage with the king, and for having

* Close Roll, 12 Henry III., m. 9.

scutage of half a knight's fee, which he holds of the king in *capite* of the honour of Walingford.

"For Miles de Morlegh, who made a fine of two marks, that he might be quit, etc., and for having his scutage for the fourth part of a knight's fee, which he holds of the king of the same honour.

"For John Brun, who made a fine of five marks, that he might be quit, etc., and for having his scutage for half the fee of a knight, and the sixth part of two parts of a knight's fee, etc., of the same honour.

"For John de la Dune, who made a fine of 20*s.*, that he might be quit, etc., and for having his scutage for the fifth part of a knight's fee as above, of the same honour.

"For Robert de Harpeden, who made a fine of £10, etc., and for having his scutage for three knights' fees, which he holds of the king of the same honour.

"For Robert de Drunal, who made a fine of one mark, etc., as above, and for having his scutage for the fourth part of one knight's fee, etc., of the same honour.

"For Elyas de Wytefeld, who made a fine of two marks, etc., as above, and for having his scutage for the fourth part of a knight's fee of the same honour.

"For Richard de Rothom' (Rouen), who made a fine of one mark, that he might be quit as above, and for having his scutage for the fifth part of a knight's fee, etc., of the same honour.

"For Irnea Malet, who made a fine of 100*s.* as above, and for having his scutage for one knight's fee and a half of the same honour.

"For Henry Bernard, who made a fine of one mark, etc., as above, and to have his scutage for the fifth part of one knight's fee of the same honour.

"For Roger de Santresdon, who made a fine of 100*s.* as above, and to have his scutage for the fee of one knight, which he holds of the king of the honour of Walingford.

"For Ralph de Wedon, who made a fine of 100*s.* for the same, and to have scutage of the fee of one knight, and the sixth part of two parts of a knight's fee of the same honour.

"For Robert de Berkefeld, who made a fine of one mark for the same, and to have scutage for the fifth part of one knight's fee of the same honour.

"For Robert de Burnebu, who made a fine of four marks

for the same, and to have his scutage for half a knight's fee, and the sixth part of two parts of one knight's fee of the same honour.

"For Robert de Valeynes, who made a fine of ten marks for the same, and to have his scutage of two knights' fees, which he holds of the same honour.

"For Roald son of Alan, who made a fine of two marks for the same, and to have his scutage for half a knight's fee of the same honour.

"For Miles Neirunt, who made a fine of twelve marks for the same, and to have his scutage of two knights' fees, etc., of the same honour.

"For William de Hedesore, who made a fine of 60s. for the same, and to have his scutage for one knight's fee, etc., of the same honour.

"For William Carbonel, who made a fine of five marks for the same, and to have his scutage for one knight's fee, etc., of the same honour.

"For Ralph de Anuers, who made a fine of 100s. for the same, to have his scutage for two knights' fees, etc., of the same honour.

"For Philip de Wymundel, who made a fine of one mark for the same, and to have his scutage for the fourth part of a knight's fee, etc., of the same honour.

"For Thomas de Kingeston, who made a fine of one mark for the same, and to have his scutage for the fifth part of a knight's fee, etc., of the same honour.

"For Aumaric de Suleham, who made a fine of twenty marks, that he might be quit of the voyage this time, and to have his scutage for the fees of four knights, which he holds of the honour of Walingford.

"For Richard Foliot, who made a fine of ten marks, that he might be quit of the voyage, and not be at present knighted, and to have scutage of two knights' [fees], which he holds of the same honour.

"For Henry Foliot, who made a fine of thirty marks, that he might be quit of the voyage, and to have his scutage for two knights' fees which he holds of the honour of Walingford, and for three knights' fees, which the heir of Robert son of Aumaric, who is in his custody by command of the king, holds of the king of the same honour.

"For Humphry Vis de Leu, who made a fine of ten marks, that he might be quit of the voyage, and to have his scutage for a knight's fee, which he holds of the king of the same honour.

"For William son of Elyas, who made a fine of five marks that he might be quit of the voyage, and to have scutage for one knight's fee, which he holds of the king of the same honour.

"For Thomas Croc, who made a fine of £10, that he might be quit, etc., of the voyage, and to have scutage for four knights' fees, which he holds of the king of the same honour.

"Memb. 3. The king took the homage of John de Vernay, for the land which Ralph de Vernay, his father, held of the king in *capite* of the honour of Wallingford, and which comes to the same John by right of inheritance. And it is commanded to the keeper of the same honour that, receiving from the same John security for his relief as much as to that land belongs to him, without delay he cause to be made full seizin of all the aforesaid land.

"Paulinus de Teyden, who holds three and a half knights' fees of the honour of Wallingford, fifteen marks for the same (scutage and voyage).

"Memb. 1. Bucks. Ralph Barre, who holds of the honour of Wallingford one fee, 100s. for passage and scutage."

A.D. 1229. In the autumn, King Henry III. was at Wallingford, and from thence went to Windsor, where he remained for three weeks, and then proceeded to Guildford.* Some time afterwards, the king visited Wallingford,† having a large force with him, and went on to Oxford.

A.D. 1231. It appears by the following extract, that it was in August in this year, and not, as previously stated on the authority of Dugdale, in 1218, that the king made a formal or legal grant to his brother, of the honour of Wallingford‡:—

"Henry, king, etc., greeting;—Know ye that we have given, granted, and by this our charter have confirmed to our dear brother Richard, Earl of Cornwall and Poitou, the honour of Wallingford, with the Castle and all its appurtenances, and the manor of Watlington, to have and to hold of us and our heirs to the same earl and his heirs, performing therefor

* Rot. Claus. † Holinshed. ‡ Charter Roll, 16 Henry III., m. 4.

to us and our heirs the service of three knights' fees for all service and all customs and demands; Wherefore we will, etc., that the aforesaid earl and his heirs may have and hold for ever of us and our heirs the aforesaid honour of Walingford, with the Castle and all their appurtenances, and with the manor of Watlington, without any reservation, well and in peace, freely, quietly, and wholly, with all liberties and free customs to the aforesaid honour, Castle, and manor belonging as is aforesaid. These being witnesses: the Venerable Father P., Bishop of Winchester; H. de Burgh; R. Earl of Chester and Lincoln; W. Earl Warren; W. de Ferrars, Earl of Derby; W. de Fortibus, Earl of Albemarle; H. de Bohun, Earl of Hereford; I. de Lasce, Constable of Chester; Walter de Lascy; Peter de Malo Lacu; Philip de Albini; W. de . . .; Ralph son of Nicholas, and others.

"Given by the hand of the Venerable Father R., Bishop of Chichester, etc., at Castle Matilda, in Elvine, the 10th day of August, in the year, etc., the 15th."

Previously to this grant, the barony of St. Walery had been committed to the care of the earl.

In the year 1232, Randolph Blundevil, Earl of Chester, Lincoln, and Huntingdon, died at the Castle of Wallingford, and his heart was buried there; his body was interred at Chester, in the chapter house of the monks, the burial-place of his ancestors.* He succeeded his father, Hugh, Earl of Chester, in 1180, after which he went on a crusade to the Holy Land. His family pedigree appears in Alredus Riavallensis.

A chaplain for the soul of Isabella of Gloucester was established at Wallingford by Richard, Earl of Cornwall, about this time.†

Henry d'Oyley, the second baron of Hook-Norton, died in this year, and was buried before the great altar in the church of Oseney.‡ He left two sisters co-heiresses, of whom Margery, the elder, was the wife of Henry, Earl of Warwick, who had issue by her—Thomas, Earl of Warwick, who in the 17th of Henry III. paid one hundred pounds and two palfreys for a relief of his said uncle's lands.§

* "Annales Monastici," edited by Luard, vol. i. p. 87.

† Ibid., p. 115.

‡ Tabula Annalis Osenieie.

§ Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 461.

A.D. 1233. Alan Basset, Baron of Wycombe, died this year, leaving Gilbert Basset his son and heir. The latter, with Richard Siward and other great men, took part with Richard, Earl Mareschall, in his contentions with the king, for which all the lands of the said Gilbert Basset and Richard Siward were wasted, and their castles and houses demolished by the power of Richard, Earl of Cornwall. Upon which, about Christmas, Richard Siward, to revenge those injuries, took with him a tumultuous mob, and destroyed several manors of the said Earl of Cornwall in these parts—manors which he doubtless held as attached to the honour of Wallingford. This so provoked the earl that Siward, to escape his anger, was obliged to retire into Scotland.*

The above-named Alan Basset was a younger brother of Gilbert Basset of Hedington. At his death, he left by will two hundred marks to the University of Oxford, for the maintenance of two chaplains, or scholars, who should pray for the souls of the said Alan and his wife, and should, on every special festival, add a "placebo" and "dirige," to be after composed for that purpose.†

A.D. 1235. The king at Westminster, November 13, gave to his brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, all the amer-ciements in the circuit of William de Ralegh and other itinerant judges in the counties of Bedford and Bucks., imposed on the tenants who held of his honour of Wallingford; as also amer-ciements in the circuit of the judges in the county of Rutland.

A.D. 1236. In this year, the Castle of Wallingford protected from violence the person of Otho, the legate of Pope Gregory IX., who came to England and made some ordinances for the better government of the Church, to the great displeasure of the younger members of the clergy; whereupon, on his passage through Oxford, the scholars began a quarrel with his attendants, and slew one of them, which so alarmed the legate that he departed hastily from Oxford, and took refuge in Oseney Church, where he remained a prisoner till the officers of the king came from Abingdon to his release, and conveyed him to Wallingford, as the only means of securing his person from the violence of the scholars. Matthew Paris says this affray took place in 1238, and was

* Thomas Wikes, *sub an.*

† Kennett, vol. i. p. 300.

occasioned by the cruelty of the legate's brother, who was also his cook; this man, being solicited by one of the poor scholars for alms, threw a vessel of hot water in his face, which gave rise to the quarrel. However this was, the haughty legate was so exasperated at the treatment he had received at the university that, in virtue of his office, he compelled the regents and masters of the university to walk barefooted through Cheapside to St. Paul's Church at London, and there to ask his forgiveness; and many of the ringleaders of each party in the affray were confined in Wallingford Castle.

On the 15th of January, 1239, Isabel, wife of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, died in childbirth at his manor of Berkhamstead; and in the next year, the earl, with many other barons, left England for an expedition to the Holy Land; and again, in A.D. 1241, he undertook another crusade, having, at a Parliament at Reading, taken his solemn leave of the nobles, "who greatly importuned his stay."

A.D. 1240. A passage in the Hundred Rolls of this reign states that ever since the new market had been established at Ilsey by Emeric de St. Amande, the king's market at Wallingford had been most seriously injured.

According to the Chronicle of John of Oxenedes, the king celebrated his Christmas at Wallingford in 1242; and in the next year he again kept his Christmas* there, being on a visit to his brother Richard, who had recently returned from his expedition to the Holy Land, full of glory. Nearly the whole nobility of England were invited to the Castle, to partake of the festivities, and to welcome Beatrix, Countess of Provence, sister of two queens of England and France, and her daughter-in-law, Senchia, to whom King Henry paid particular attention, as the future bride of his brother.† According to Matthew Paris, the marriage of the earl to Senchia took place on the 22nd of November following, with great solemnity, at Westminster. Wikes reports the wedding to have been kept at Wallingford on St. Cecile's Day, the Castle having been repaired for the occasion; and Man, in his MS., is of the same opinion. Ashmole‡ remarks, "Richard, King

* Matthew Paris, Chron. and Mems. of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, edited by Luard, vol. i. p. 115.

† Matthew Paris.

‡ "Antiquities of Berkshire."

of the Romans, celebrated his espousals with Senchia in this place." Stowe, in his "Survey of London," says that the Earl Richard kept his marriage feast in the great hall at Westminster, "with great royalty and company of noblemen, inso-much that there were thirty thousand dishes of meats at that dinner;" and the "Waverley Annals" make the nuptial feast to have been *first* held there.* That there were splendid festivities at Wallingford on the day of the earl's wedding, admits of no doubt, but whether, as is asserted, the marriage took place at Wallingford, and the king and most of the nobility were entertained by the earl on that occasion in his Castle there, is not so clear. Man endeavours to reconcile the apparent conflict of opinion by suggesting that the feast at Westminster took place after the ceremony of the marriage at Wallingford.

The king, at Westminster, October 5, 1243, committed to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the neighbouring manor of Bensington, with the hundred and all appurtenances; sending a mandate to the sheriff to give him seizin of it.†

Wallingford appears now to have reached the summit of its prosperity, owing to its castle having been the favourite residence of the Earl of Cornwall, who kept it up in great magnificence, and spent vast sums of money in its embellishment.

In the twenty-seventh year of the king's reign, the earl claimed certain lands at Eston, as part of the honour of Wallingford. This appears by a writ issued in that year to the custos of the honour, commanding him to respite till his next account the demand which he had made on Roger, Usher of the Exchequer, of military service for his lands at Eston, and to show cause before the barons, at that day, why he demanded such service, because Roger did not hold the said lands of the honour of Wallingford, but by sergeanty as Usher of the Exchequer, as it was found by inquisition. A writ was issued to the Sheriff of Oxfordshire, reciting, "that it appeared by inquisition that Roger de l'Exchequer and his ancestors held their lands at Eston, in the county of Oxford, of the king and his ancestors kings of England, by the service of keeping the door of the king's Exchequer, and not

* Matthew of Westminster.

† Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. cix. fol. 12.

by knight's service of the honour of Wallingford; and therefore the king commanded the sheriff by that writ to surcease the demand which the bailiff of that honour made on Roger for the aid for the ransom of the King of Allemaigne (Richard, Earl of Cornwall), payable out of the said lands."*

During this reign, the church of Chalgrove was given as a prebend to the honour of Wallingford.†

Again this year, the king spent his Christmas at the Castle, as his brother's guest.‡

A.D. 1245. By a Council at London, three weeks after Candlemas, a grant was made to the king of twenty shillings on every knight's fee, for the marriage of his eldest daughter; one-half to be paid at Easter, the other at Michaelmas.

The earl sent this year one thousand pounds by the Knights Hospitallers, for the relief and assistance of travellers and pilgrims in the Holy Land; § and at Christmas he entertained at Wallingford the king, the queen, and nobility, on which occasion several royal grants were made.||

A.D. 1246. On the occasion of a birth of a son of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, there were great rejoicings at the Castle, and the king and many of the nobility were present at a magnificent feast.

A.D. 1247. This is the only date we have of a coinage in this reign, when a great change in the reverse type of the silver coinage took place. We are indebted to John de Wallingford—to whom further reference is made in Part II.—for a representation of both sides of the coin, in the margin of his MS. Chronicle.¶ It was probably struck at Wallingford (see p. 314).

We are also indebted to the same authority for noting the arrival of the first elephant in England, in 1255, which was presented to the king by the King of France. A drawing of the animal appears in his Chronicle. It arrived at Sandwich, and was conveyed to the Tower of London, where the sheriffs had been directed by the king's precept to build a house for it, forty feet in length and twenty in breadth,

* Madox, "History of the Exchequer," fol. 730. † Ibid.

‡ "Annales Monastici," by Luard, vol. i. p. 132.

§ Matthew Paris.

|| Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. cvii. fol. 81; Kennett; Lysons.

¶ Cotton MS., British Museum, Julius D. vii.

taking care to let the building have sufficient strength to be fit for any purpose.*

In Madox's "History of the Exchequer,"† is set out a writ issued by the king (1248-49) commanding the bailiffs and men of Wallingford, in full town court, to choose by oath of twenty-four good men, four men of the most trusty and prudent of their town for the office of moneyers there, and other four like persons for the keeping of the king's mints there, and two fit and prudent goldsmiths to be assayers of the money to be made there, and one fit and trusty clerk for keeping of the exchange, and to send them to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, to do there what by ancient custom and assize was to be done in that case.

Referring to the above, Ruding states, "This is the last notice which I have met with respecting the mint in this town."‡

In the Chronicle of John of Oxenedes,§ we have the names of the officers of the mint, which seems to have had its full complement. They are as under:—

Wallingford.

Monetarii.....	Clemens Clericus. Ricardus Blaune. Alexander de Stanes. Robertus Pecok.
Custodes.....	Johannes Robechild. Simon Canon. Johannes Hentelowe. Gaufridus de Wicke.
Assaiatores.....	Johannes Anrifaber. Randulfus Aurifaber.
Clericus.....	Nicholaus de Estens'.

Hawkins, in his new edition of "English Silver Coins,"|| refers to coins struck at the mint here in this reign, but neither the moneyer's name nor the style is given. Several specimens may be seen at the British Museum.

"William Longspe, lord of the manor of Burcester, honour of Wallingford, having again taken upon him the cross, in

* Ellis's Mems. † Vol. ii. p. 88. ‡ Ruding, vol. iv. p. 217.

§ By Sir Henry Ellis, pp. 320, 321.

|| Page 196.

order to another pilgrimage to the Holy Land, came to Rome, and spake thus to the pope: 'Sir, you see that I am signed with the cross, and am on my journey with the King of France, to fight in this pilgrimage. My name is great, and of note, viz. William Longspe; but my estate is slender, for the King of England, my kinsman and liege lord, has deprived me of the title of earl, and of that estate. But this he did judiciously, and not in displeasure, or by the impulse of his will; therefore I do not blame him for it. Howbeit I am necessitated to have recourse to your Holiness for favour, desiring your assistance in this distress. We see here that Earl Richard (of Cornwall), who, though he is not signed with the cross, yet, through the special grace of your Holiness, he hath got very much money from those who are signed.* And therefore I, who am signed and in want, do entreat the like favour.' The pope, taking into consideration the elegance of his speaking, his reasons, and the comeliness of his person, partly granted what he desired. Whereupon he received above 1000 marks from those who had been signed; though he did not begin his expedition till about two years after." †

A.D. 1249. "The king, reduced to great wants, borrowed large sums of his brother Richard, and caused new money to be coined in most cities and large towns, out of which he fully repaid his brother, and gave him one-half of the profits of coinage, which made him immensely rich." ‡ The mint at Wallingford, with its large staff of officials, must have had active employment on this occasion.

Christmas was again kept at the Castle in great state by the earl, with a splendid train of the principal noblemen and gentlemen of the realm.§

A.D. 1250. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, took ship for France in April, with Senchia his countess, and Henry his eldest son, "passing through that kingdom, with forty

* It appears to have been a common artifice to persuade people to take the cross, and then to absolve them from their vow for money (Matthew Paris, pp. 433-525). "Richard of Cornwall was immensely rich, partly by having the sums paid by these 'recanting croisees,' and giving no account."—"Life of Grossetale."

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 178.

‡ Chronicle, Thomas Wikes.

§ Matthew Paris, vol. ii. transl. p. 287.

knights attending him, with such splendid equipage, that the French admired and envied the glorious show. When he came to Lyons before Rogation week, the pope received him there with great honour, and dined at the same table with him." * About Michaelmas he returned into England, and at Christmas his countess was delivered of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edmund.

A.D. 1251. "On the 9th November, Earl Richard solemnly dedicated † the church of Hales, in the county of Gloucester, which he had founded and built at great expense, in accordance with a vow he had made at sea on his return from Gascony, when he was in danger of shipwreck, owing to a tempest having arisen. There were present the king and queen, thirteen bishops, most of the barons, and above three hundred knights, whom he entertained with incredible state and plenty." Desiring to describe the grandeur of the sumptuous feast, "When I," says Matthew Paris, "sought for information, the earl, with unhesitating certainty, informed me that when all expenses were reckoned, he had laid out ten thousand marks in the building of that church, adding this remarkable and praiseworthy speech, 'Would that it had pleased God that I had expended all that I have laid out in the Castle of Wallingford in as wise and salutary a manner!'" ‡

A.D. 1253. The king, passing over to Gascony, committed the custody of his whole kingdom to Richard Earl of Cornwall, and Walter de Grey Archbishop of York.§

The earl granted to the monks of Okeburn (which was a cell to Bec) that all their tenants within his honour of Wallingford should be exempted from suite and service of court to that honour, provided that his Bailiff of Wallingford should, once every year, keep a court leet for the manor of Okeburn, within the bounds of the priory there, to see that the king's peace was duly kept; and that the benefit arising from that leet should redound to those monks of Okeburn; they entertaining the Bailiff of Wallingford, with three or four horse of his retinue, at their charge for that

* Matthew of Westminster.

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 764.

‡ Matthew Paris, vol. ii. p. 464 (translation).

§ Chronicle, Thomas Wikes.

day. On the seal appended to the grant or charter is an impress of the earl, armed, on horseback, going full speed with sword in hand, and with a lion rampant crowned on a shield on the reverse, inscribed, "Sigillum Richardi Comitis Cornubiæ." *

A.D. 1255. This year there was an aid granted to the king of scutage, or forty shillings on every knight's fee. It seems, however, to have given him but slight relief.

The Jews.

The following prefatory remarks are necessary in order to explain the extract from the Roll given below, whereby it appears that the Jews were sold, *en masse*, by the king to his brother, the Earl of Cornwall, to secure the payment by them to the earl, at Wallingford, of three thousand marks, which the king had borrowed of him.

The persecution and extortion to which the Jews were subjected in this country, particularly from the time of William II.—who found in them so great a source of profit, that he refused to allow them to become converts to Christianity—are well known. Other English monarchs were influenced by the advantages they derived from plundering this wealthy body; but it was not till the reign of Richard I. that the popular hatred of the Jews became so intense as to break out in a general assault.† Their houses were plundered, and in many instances committed to the flames, and knights who were proceeding to the Holy Land, robbed the richest of the class to aid them in their pilgrimage; while those of the crusaders who had borrowed money from their Jewish neighbours, stirred up the people to a tumultuous onset, as the easiest way of cancelling their debts. During the two following reigns, the history of England abounds in instances of the oppression to which the Jews were subjected, and of the vast sums extorted from them by the necessities or will of the monarchs. The tyranny and cruelty of King John stand out, as we may suppose, in unexampled atrocity, although for

* "Monasticon Anglicanum," tom. i. p. 538, and second edit., tom. vi. Part II. p. 1016.

† "They were branded by being obliged to wear two white tablets upon their breast, to distinguish them from Christians."—Rymer's "Fœdera."

a time he seems to have assumed their protectorship.* He seized, imprisoned, and tortured this unhappy race, with the sole object of extracting from them large sums of money, without conceding to them any privilege or the slightest consideration. Many hundreds of them resorted to self-destruction—wives and children submitting to be massacred at the hands of husbands and fathers. The situation of the Jews under Henry III. was but little improved, although various decrees were issued in their favour. Being possessed of a large portion of the wealth of the kingdom, they were the constant objects of extortion, and the king reaped a golden harvest; and to such an extent was the system carried, that the Jews made the vain threat of leaving the kingdom; and it was on that occasion that the king “sold to his brother” all the Jews in his realm for five thousand marks, with full power over their persons and property. Wallingford was one of the two places at which the last-named extortion was consummated.

“The king † to all, etc;—Know ye that we have taken on loan of our dear and faithful brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, five thousand marks sterling.

“For the payment of which we have assigned and delivered to him all our Jews of England.

“We have also assigned and bound the same Jews to the aforesaid earl, for the payment of three thousand marks, in which they were bound to us for tallage, to be made to the same earl in this manner, namely, that the aforesaid Jews do pay to him, his executors or assigns, at Walingford, or at the New Temple, London, alternatively, as he or his executors may choose, in the quinzaine of the Holy Trinity, in the thirty-ninth year of our reign, one thousand pounds at either of the said places. And in the quinzaine of the Purification of the Blessed Mary next following, in the fortieth year of our reign, one thousand pounds, at either of the places aforesaid. And on the Feast of St. Martin, in the forty-first year, two thousand marks, at either of the places aforesaid.

“Witness the king at Westminster, the 24th day of February, in the thirty-ninth year of our reign.”

* Patent Roll, 5 King John, m. 7; translated in the Introduction to the Patent Rolls.

† Patent Roll, 39 Henry III., m. 13.

Not only did the king obtain an enormous revenue from these exactions upon the Jews, but such was the venality of justice, that no restraint was placed on his mercenary pursuit of riches, no matter from what source, or how, they could be obtained. Kennett gives an instance at Reading, which shows that even the sentence of death for murder could be averted by a money bribe. "The Jews at Lincoln had crucified a boy of nine years of age called Hugh (made for this a saint and martyr), for which barbarous impiety the principal actors, and some other prisoners, were, in a Council at Reading, condemned to a sharp and ignominious death; but with immense sums of money they bribed the favour of Richard, Earl of Cornwall, whose power did deliver and protect them." *

The "Jews' House," at Lincoln, is figured in many books, including Parker's. And some fifty years ago, Pugin made careful studies of it. It is said to have been the residence of Belaset de Wallingford, a Jewess, who suffered death for clipping coin in 1290. It was lately the property of the Dean and Chapter of Lincoln, and probably belongs to them now, if it still exists. Public attention was called to its precarious condition a few years since, and it is to be hoped that this interesting relic of the past, with its enriched arch work, has undergone restoration.

In 1256, when Prince Edward, the king's son, paid a visit to his uncle Richard, at his Castle at Wallingford, some of his attendants forced themselves into the priory adjacent to the Castle, without, as usual in such cases, soliciting the accustomed hospitality; and having turned out the monks with violence, they seized the provisions, wasted the corn, broke the doors, windows, and culinary utensils in pieces, and thrust out the servants belonging to the establishment, as if they had been thieves. "But these violences," says the historian,† "were palliated by the prince's friends as the folly of youth and not to have proceeded from malice;" from which remark it is probable the prince himself was engaged in the outrage with his followers.

"Upon the death of William, King of the Romans, the electors, who resolved to make the best market of their votes,

* Burton, "Annal.," p. 348; Kennett, vol. i. p. 353.

† Matthew Paris, vol. iii. (translation), p. 201.

sent away John de Atneis into England, with proposals to Richard, Earl of Cornwall, that upon good terms of money, they would elect him to that kingdom. Upon which motion the earl sent over his trusty friends, Richard, Earl of Gloucester, and John Maunsell, to compound with the electors, who agreed with the Archbishop of Mentz for eight thousand Colegn marks; with the Archbishop of Colegn for twelve thousand Colegn marks; with the Duke of Bavaria for eighteen thousand marks sterling, computing each mark at twelve shillings; and with some of the other electors for eight thousand Colegn marks. Upon which compact he was chosen King of Almagne or the Romans, on St. Hilary's Day at Frankfort." *

The earl aspired also to the empire of Germany, and large sums were sent out of England to the German princes to elect him; but his treasure procured him nothing but the above title of King of the Romans, which carried with it small reverence and little power. A letter appears in Luard † from the earl to John, Archbishop of Messina, announcing his election as King of the Romans, dated at Wallingford, 11th February, 1256.

A.D. 1257. He was crowned this year, and shortly afterwards left England.

A.D. 1259. In October in this year the king permitted him to levy a tallage upon his boroughs and manors usually exempt (Rymer, vol. i. p. 377).

In a letter ‡ to the king, dated at Wallingford, 11th May, 1262, he states that he is compelled to hasten back to Germany, and cannot meet the king at Chippenham.

During his absence, the factions and turbulent disposition of the English barons, headed by Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, broke out in an attempt "to wrest the sceptre from the feeble and irresolute hand which held it," § and to take into their own hands the administration of the affairs of the State. They displaced all the chief officers of the Crown, disposed even of the offices in the king's household

* Chronicle, Thomas Wikes, sub an. ; Kennett, vol. i. p. 353.

† "Annales Monastici," vol. i. p. 391.

‡ Rymer, vol. i. p. 420; "Royal and other Historic Letters," No. 1079, Shirley.

§ Hume.

at their pleasure, and placed "the government of all the castles into hands in whom they found reason to confide." * This was done under colour of an agreement, to which the king was obliged to submit, at the great Council of the barons, or Mad Parliament as it was called, assembled at Oxford, in June, 1258. According to Lingard, Wallingford Castle remained in the possession of the king; but it is not likely that one in so abject a state of subjection would be allowed to retain for any length of time this strong and celebrated fortress. It is therefore probable that the Castle was soon placed under the rebel government, and was made the residence of the Countess of Leicester, whom her lord visited there in great state in 1262, as is next recorded.

A.D. 1262. In this year, probably about the autumn, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, visited his countess at Wallingford Castle, and brought with him a train of one hundred and sixty-two horses, which were picketed inside the walls. Although the nobles of that period endeavoured to imitate royalty in the display of magnificence, so large a body-guard must not be regarded as mere pageantry; the times were troublous, and a large protective force was obviously necessary, which it would have been hardly safe to lodge outside the walls. Moreover, there were signs of reaction in the popular will, which soon afterwards set in against Leicester and his followers, and turned the current to the side of the Crown. Then arose dissensions among the barons themselves; and their intestine jealousies and animosities, coupled with the rivalry between the Earls of Leicester and Gloucester (their chief leaders), began to dis-joint the whole confederacy. Gloucester secretly deserted to the Crown, while Leicester, throwing up for a time all concern in English affairs, retired to France. The royal authority was partially restored, and Wallingford Castle again changed hands. About this time we trace the king there,† accompanied by a large force of men under arms. A year, however, had scarcely elapsed before Leicester, in no way discouraged by his past reverses, again took up arms against the throne. The Welsh invasion,‡ under Llewellyn, was the

* Hume, vol. i. p. 562.

† "Chronicle of the Monastery of Abingdon," p. 52.

‡ A.D. 1263.

signal for the malcontent barons to rise in arms. Leicester, coming over secretly from France, collected all the forces of his party, and commenced an open rebellion. Under date 29th June, 1263, Richard, King of the Romans, writes to Henry III. * to meet the barons at Wallingford, and to order Prince Edward to abstain from hostilities.

The following translation shows the king's movements :— On this Friday, on the day, namely, of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, after a banquet [or supper], we directed our steps with all speed towards Chippenham, thence intending to proceed forthwith towards Wallingford, where we expect to find the barons.†

At Wallingford, he, no doubt, found them, for soon afterwards the Castle had to sustain another attack; but owing to its strength, and the fortifications which surrounded the town, as well as the fidelity and courage of the inhabitants headed by Richard, the barons were repulsed with loss.‡

The like success did not attend the royal cause in other parts of England, particularly in London, which supplied the bold conspirator with his chief resources. The queen,§ though defended in the Tower, sought security by taking shelter in the royal barge, intending to escape by water to Windsor Castle, but as she approached London Bridge, the barge was nearly dashed to pieces by the formidable missiles that were aimed at her person by the enraged mob, and she was obliged to return to the Tower.|| In nearly all parts of England, the ravages of the faction extended, and to such a height did violence and fury rise, that the king was powerless to resist, and was obliged to propose a treaty of peace, and submit to most disadvantageous terms. Thus, in July, 1263, the barons were again reinstated in the sovereignty of the kingdom, and they took possession of all the royal castles and fortresses.¶ It would seem, however, that Wallingford was in the hands of the royalists, and retained by the Earl of Cornwall up to this time, if not later.

Prince Edward, who had been taken prisoner by Leicester at Windsor, having recovered his liberty, determined to defend the prerogatives of his family, and among the barons

* "Royal and other Historic Letters," by Shirley, vol. ii. p. 247.

† Ibid.

‡ Parkington's "Chronique;" Man's MS.

§ A.D. 1263.

|| Matthew of Westminster; Wikes.

¶ Hume.

who declared in favour of the royal cause, were John, Lord Basset, Ralph Basset, and Roger Mortimer, whose connection with Wallingford has been before mentioned. The adherents of the prince balanced those of Leicester, and it was agreed by both sides to submit all differences to the arbitration * of the King of France, whose award, while it secured the privileges and liberties of the nation, restored to the king the possession of his castles, and re-established the royal power. The award was rejected by Leicester, who again had recourse to arms, and the civil war was renewed. The first enterprise of the royalists was the attack on Northampton, which was defended by Simon de Montfort, one of the sons of Leicester, and many of the principal barons of that party. Philip Basset made a breach in the walls, the place was carried by assault, and the governor and garrison were made prisoners. The fatal battle of Lewes followed in May, 1264, and was lost, "through," as Miss Strickland says, "the reckless fury with which the fiery heir of England pursued the flying Londoners, in order to avenge their incivility in pelting his mother at their bridge." On returning to the field of battle after his precipitate pursuit of the Londoners, the prince was astonished to find that by his absence he had so weakened the king's forces that the royalists were completely defeated; his father the king, his uncle the King of the Romans, Henry of Almain, the latter's son, who had headed their respective forces, and many others of the royal party, had been taken prisoners, and he himself was obliged to succumb to the victorious enemy. The town and Castle of Wallingford surrendered to the Earl of Leicester, who himself conducted thither the king and other royal captives for safe custody.† Thus the Castle, which in late years had witnessed in peaceful splendour the magnificent festivities and gorgeous pageantry of the royal party, now became the prison-house, in which, and afterwards in the Castle of Kenilworth, the royal prisoners were detained for nearly fourteen months. It is said by some authorities that the detention of the king and the other captives was not of so long a duration as is here mentioned, and that Prince Edward having entered into a treaty with the Earl of Leicester, whereby it was agreed that the prince

* January, 1264.

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 77.

himself, with his cousin Henry of Almain, should become hostages for their royal parents, all the other prisoners were released on both sides. The young princes, it is also said,* were, in consequence of this treaty, conducted to Dover Castle, where they remained close prisoners till the following year, when they were released by Leicester, on a promise to deliver up all their castles to the barons.

It is doubtful whether the release of the captives took place on the terms mentioned, and still more doubtful whether Leicester consented to deliver up the prince, who appears to have effected his escape by strategical means. Matthew Paris † states that an arrangement was made for the ransom, and that Prince Edward was sent to the Castle of Wallingford for safety; but in a subsequent page, we find that the king was retained as a prisoner, and that a disagreement arose between Leicester and his friend Gilbert de Clare, because the earl refused to give up the royal prisoners on being entreated by the latter to do so. The same authority also asserts that the prince was enabled to bid farewell to his guards by the speed of his horse. Miss Strickland gives the following fairly epitomized particulars.‡

The queen sent word to Sir Warren de Basingbourne, her son's favourite knight, that Wallingford was but feebly guarded, and that her son might be released, if the Castle were attacked by surprise. Directly Sir Warren received the queen's message, he, with three hundred horse, crossed the country, and arrived at Wallingford just as the sun rose, and, right against Allhallows Church, made the first fierce attack on the Castle, and won the outermost wall. The besieged defended themselves furiously with cross-bows and battle-engines. At last they called out to Sir Warren, that, if he wanted Edward the prince, he should have him, but bound hand and foot, and shot from the "mangonel," a terrific war-engine, used for casting stones. As soon as the prince heard of this murderous intention, he demanded leave to speak with his friends, and coming on the wall, assured them that if they persevered in his mother's intentions, he should be destroyed. Whereupon Sir Warren and his chevaliers retired in great dejection. Simon de Montfort,

* Man's MS.

† Vol. iii. p. 349.

‡ "Queens of England," vol. ii. p. 122.

pretending to be angry for the violence offered to the prince his nephew, carried off all his royal prisoners for safer keeping to Kenilworth Castle, where Edward's aunt, his countess, was abiding.

The escape of the prince was effected through the instrumentality of Lady Mand Mortimer, who had ambushed a swift steed in a thicket, in readiness for the prince, who galloped off, bidding his guard to tell the king that he would soon be at liberty.

The royal sceptre had virtually passed into Leicester's hands, and he exercised sovereign power with tyranny and injustice, which in the end brought about a strong national feeling against him. As soon as Prince Edward had effected his escape, an overwhelming army readily joined under his standard. He flew to arms, and on the 3rd of August, 1265, the battle of Evesham was fought and won by the valiant prince, who entirely defeated the barons' army, with the death of their leader Simon, Earl of Leicester, and Henry Montfort his son.* The victory proved decisive in favour of the royalists. All the prisoners who had been taken by the earl and his accomplices were forthwith set at liberty, and almost all the castles garrisoned by the barons hastened to make their submission. The Countess of Leicester, who so recently had occupied Wallingford Castle, and who had been extremely forward in all attacks on the royal family, was dismissed the kingdom, with her two surviving sons, Simon and Guy.

The following letter of protection from Prince Edward to the chancellor, relates to the restoration of Wallingford Castle †:—

“Prince Edward to Walter, Bishop of Bath and Wells, Chancellor:—

“To the Venerable Father Lord Walter, by the grace of God Bishop of Bath and Wells; Edward, eldest son of the illustrious King of England, health and sincere affection;—

“On the seventh day of August, Semanus de Stoke, Lord Richard de Havering, John de Havering, and Lord William

* “De Antiquis Legibus Liber;” Brook's “Catalogue of Earls.”

† “Royal and Historical Letters,” 49 Henry III., No. 403.

de Turevil, submitted themselves to our good pleasure, and we promised them that we would thoroughly protect them in their persons and goods. Wherefore, on the faith of such promise, they have caused to be restored to us the Castles of Wallingford and Berkhamstede. Wherefore, we desire you that, for the observance of our promise made to them through the chancery of the lord the king our father, you will cause every security to be provided. Farewell.

"Given at Winchester, 23rd of September, 49th year of the reign of the said lord the king our father."*

Richard, King of the Romans, lost no time in returning to his Castle of Wallingford, which had been the scene, within a short time, of so many vicissitudes. On the 9th of September, he was gladly welcomed there by his friends and tenants.†

At Christmas following, Simon Montfort the younger submitted himself to the king, on such terms as should be made by Richard, King of the Romans, the pope's legate, and Philip Basset, who determined that he should deliver the Castle of Kenilworth to the king, depart the kingdom, and receive five hundred marks per annum out of the Exchequer.‡

A.D. 1267. In the fifty-first year of his reign, Henry III. confirmed the charter of his grandfather, and granted further privileges to the inhabitants.

The following translation is from the original in the Charter Roll, dated 12th January, 51 Henry III. §:—

"For the Burgesses of Wallingford.

"The king to archbishops, etc., greeting;—We have also inspected the charter which H. of good memory formerly King of England, our grandfather, made to the burgesses of Wallingford, in these words [Here follows a recital of the charter of Henry II., *ante*, p. 269]. And we, ratifying and approving the aforesaid gift and grant, do for us and our heirs grant and confirm the same to the aforesaid burgesses and their successors, as the charter aforesaid doth reasonably certify. We also do will and grant for us and our heirs,

* A.D. 1265. † Chronicle, Thomas Wikes. ‡ Matthew Paris.

§ Mention is made of another charter granted to the town in the ninth year of this reign, but it has not been found.

that although the [burgesses] aforesaid, from the commencement of the disturbance lately stirred up in our kingdom, since our Parliament holden at Oxford, have not hitherto fully used some of the articles of the liberties aforesaid, yet they and their successors may nevertheless from henceforth, freely and without any hindrance, use the liberties abovesaid as is aforesaid. These being witnesses: Robert Walraunde, Robert Aguyllun, Nicholas de Leukenore, William de Aete, John de la Linde, Peter de Neville, Ralph de Bagepuz, William Belet, Bartholomew Bigod, and others. Given under my hand at Westminster, the 12th day of January, in the 51st year of our reign."

Under this charter was perpetuated a privilege—if privilege it may be deemed—says Lysons, of so extraordinary a nature that, unless it were well authenticated by records, it would scarcely obtain credit. It appears, by an inquisition taken upon oath about the year 1262, that, for a first offence, of however heinous a nature, a native of this borough might make his option of having his eyes put out, and being otherwise mutilated, instead of paying the forfeit of his life. This privilege the jury state to have been enjoyed from time immemorial, and that it had been then lately claimed by one Benedict Harvey. The words of the record appear in Kennett, vol. i. p. 365, and Selden's notes upon Hengham, p. 153, "Ancient Tenures," art. "Wallingford."

A.D. 1268. There was now, by the king's assent, an aid imposed on all the tenants of Richard, King of the Romans, to pay his ransom when a prisoner to Montfort's party.*

The earl's second wife, Senchia, died on the 9th of November, 1261,† and on the 16th of June, 1268, he married Beatrix, niece to the Archbishop of Cologne, whom he met when he visited his kingdom of Almain. After three years, namely, in December, 1271, Richard was seized with violent fits of palsy, and died in April following, about seven months before the death of the king; whereupon the Castle and honour of Wallingford fell to his son Edmund, who was then twenty years old, "with the advowsons of the churches in Wallingford, which were, at that time, no less than fourteen in number,"‡ as appears by a subsequent chapter in Part II.

* Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. xxix. fol. 120.

† Chronicle, Thomas Wikes.

‡ Browne Willis.

A.D. 1272. This inquisition was taken relating to the honour of Wallingford:—

“Extent of the lands and tenements of the lord the King of Almain of his borough of Wallingford, in the county of Berks., made on Friday next before Palm Sunday, in the fifty-sixth year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John; before Lord Fulk de Rucote and William Avenar, subescheator of our lord the King of England, by the oath of twelve lawful men, to wit, Robert de Louthis, Master Peter, William de la Wyke, John de Hyne, John de St. Edmund, John Nonaunt, Ric. le Ken, Everard le Suur, Hen. Beumund, Peter Morin, Ralph le Orfevere, and Robt. Kempe,—who say upon their oath that the lord the King of the Germans held the said borough *in capite* of the lord the King of England; and it is worth 40*l.* 10*s.* a year; cum advocacionibus ecclesiarum in dicto Burgo, quarum ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum valet Cⁱ, ecclesia Sancti Petri XLⁱ, et ecclesia Sⁱ Michaelis valet servicium ejusdem ecclesiæ, Edmund his son, is his next heir, being twenty-two years of age and more.”*

In the Public Record Office there is another extent which was taken at the same time before Lord Fulk and the subescheator and the jury before-named, of the lands and tenements of the lord the King of Germany, of his manor of Bensindon, in the county of Oxford; and the jury found that the King of the Germans held the said manor in chief of the gift of the King of England, “and it is worth per annum eighty pounds, with four hundreds and a half belonging to the said manor. They say also that the advowson of the church of Henele (Henley) belongs to the said manor, and the church is worth yearly fifteen marks. They say also that Lord Edmund is son of the said King of the Germans, and his next heir, and is of the age of twenty-two years and more. They say also, upon their oath, that the same Lord Richard held the Castle of Wallingford, with the honour, of the lord the King of England, by the service of three knights; and there are there two mills, and they are worth yearly twenty marks. They say also that there belongs to the said Castle and honour one hundred and twenty and a half knights’ fees. Sum, £93 6*s.* 8*d.*”†

* Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. xlv. fol. 158; Public Record Office.

† Inquia. p.m., 56 Henry III., No. 32.

[NOTE.—Richard, Earl of Cornwall, claimed the imperial crown of Germany, in right of his election as King of the Romans in 1257, whence the designation of him “King of Almain” or “of the Germans.”]

Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, did homage to the king, and had possession of his father's large inheritance, in the year 1272.

The following political ballad (one of the oldest ballads sung) was directed against Richard, Earl of Cornwall, at a time when he had become unpopular, in consequence of his schemes of ambition in foreign parts; and as it especially refers to the earl's connection with Wallingford, may be here inserted. It is said * that this ballad or song led to the passing of the Statute “against slanderous reports or tales to cause discord betwixt king and people;” but as this Act was not passed till nearly a hundred years after the earl's death, namely, in 1375, it can hardly be suggested that it was occasioned by the ballad in question:—

“Sitteth alle stille, ant herkneth to me.
The Kyng of Alemaigne,¹ bi mi leauté,
Thritti thousand pound ² askede he,
For to make the pees in the countré;
Ant so he dude more.
Richard, thah thou be ever trichard,[†]
Trichen shalt thou never more.

“Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he wes kyng,
He spende al his tresour opon swyvyng; [‡]
Haveth he nout of Walingford [§] o ferlyng;
Let him habbe, ase he brew, bale [§] to dryng,
Mangre Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou be ever, etc.

“The Kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel;
He saisede the mulne for a castel,⁴
With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,
He wende that the sayles were mangonel
To helpe Wyndesore.
Richard, thah thou be ever, etc.

“The Kyng of Alemaigne gederede ys host,
Makede him a castel of a mulne post,

* Barrington's “Observations on the Statutes,” p. 71.

† Trick.

‡ Luxury.

§ Misery.

Wende with is prude ant is muchele boost,
 Brohte from Alemyne mony sori gost
 To store Wyndesore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, etc.

"By God that is aboven ous, he dude muche synne,
 That lette passen over see the Erl of Warynne;*
 He hath robbed Engelond, the mores and the fenne,
 The gold ant the selver, ant y-boren henne,
 For love of Wyndesore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, etc.

"Sire Simond de Mountfort hath swore bi ys chyn,
 Hevede he nou here the Erl of Waryn,
 Shulde he never more come to is yn,
 Ne with sheld, ne with spere, ne with other gyn,
 To help of Wyndesore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, etc.

"Sire Simond de Montfort hath suore bi ys cop,
 Hevede he nou here Sire Hue de Bigot,*
 Al he shulde quite here twelfmoneth soot,
 Shulde he never more with his fot pot
 To helpe Wyndesore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, etc.

"Be the luef, be the loht, Sire Edward,
 Thou shalt ride sporeles o thy lyard *
 Al the ryhte way to Dovere ward;
 Shalt thou never more breke fore-ward,
 And that reweth sore.

Edward, thou ddest ase a shreward;
 Forsoke thyn emes lore.

Richard, thah thou be ever, etc."

(1) Richard, Earl of Cornwall. (2) The barons had offered him this sum if he would, by his intermediation, persuade the king to agree to a peace with them, and at the same time accept the terms they demanded. (3) The honour of Wallingford had been conferred on Richard in 1231,† as previously stated. (4) After the battle of Lewes was lost, Richard, King of the Romans, took refuge in a windmill, which he barricaded and maintained for some time against the barons, but in the evening was obliged to surrender. (See a very full

* This word (in the Low Latin, *liardus*) means, properly, a dapple-grey horse.

† Not 1243, as in the original note. (See *ante*, p. 308.)

account of this in the "Chronicle of Mailros;" Percy's "Reliques of Ancient English Poetry.") (5) The Earl of Warenne escaped from the battle and fled into France. (6) Hugh Bigod escaped with the Earl of Warenne to Pevensey, and from thence to France. He was cousin to the Hugh Bigod who took part with the barons and was slain at Lewes.

This song or ballad first appeared in Percy's "Reliques." The following translation is given by Mr. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., in his edition of "The Political Songs of England from the Reign of John to that of Edward II.," and printed for the Camden Society, p. 68. See also Harleian MS., No. 2253, fol. 58vo. of the reign of Edward II. :—

"Sit all still, and listen to me.—The King of Almaine, by my loyalty,—thirty thousand pounds he asked,—to make peace in the country ;—and so he did more.—Richard, though thou art ever a traitor,—thou shalt never more deceive.

"Richard of Almaine, while he was king,—he spent all his treasure upon luxury ;—have he not of Wallingford one furlong ;—let him have, as he brews, evil to drink,—in spite of Windsor.

"The King of Almaine thought to do full well ;—they seized the mill* for a castle,—with their sharp swords they ground the steel,—they thought the sails had been mangonels† —to help Windsor.

"The King of Almaine gathered his host,—he made him a castle of a mill-post,—he went with his pride and his great boast,—brought from Almaine many a wretched soul—to garrison Windsor.

"By God that is above us, he did great sin,—who let the Earl of Warenne pass over sea ;—he had robbed England, both the moor and the fen,—of the gold and the silver, and carried them hence,—for love of Windsor.

"Sir Simon de Montfort hath sworn by his chin,—had he now here the Earl of Warenne,—he should never more come to his lodging,—neither with shield, nor with spear, nor with other contrivance,—to help Windsor.

"Sir Simon de Montfort hath sworn by his head,—had he

* The incident referred to occurred in the contest with the barons in 1264, when he took shelter in a windmill.

† Catapults.

now here Sir Hugh de Bigot,—he should pay here a twelve-month's scot,—he should never more tramp on his feet—to help Windsor.

“Be it agreeable to thee, or disagreeable, Sir Edward,—thou shalt ride spurless on thy hack—all the straight road towards Dover;—thou shalt never more break covenant,—and that sore rueth thee.—Edward, thou didst like a shrew;—forsake thine uncle's teaching.”

[NOTE.—Windsor was the stronghold of the royal party, and had been, in the early part of the reign of Henry III., garrisoned by foreigners.*]

The Archives of the Corporation of Wallingford.

In 1876, the late deeply lamented Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., one of the Inspectors under the Historical Manuscripts Commission, devoted many weeks to an inspection and translation of the archives of the corporation, which were freely placed at his disposal, and which he considered were of greater antiquity and in better preservation than those possessed by most other corporations. By the time these pages shall be offered to the public—perhaps before—his indefatigable labours in this and other corporate towns will have appeared in a ponderous blue-book, published by order of the House of Commons; but his courtesy, and the valuable information he so kindly gave on the occasion of his visits, have supplied me with many interesting particulars, which have the authority of his name. Scarcely a year had elapsed after this consummate master of manuscripts had completed his Wallingford report, before a terrible affliction disabled him from continuing his labours, and soon afterwards, death put an end to his valuable life, but his name and fame as an archivistic scholar will be kept alive for all time, by the many mediæval records and publications of which he was the editor.

The Burghmote rolls examined in the corporation chest go back to the year 1232, 16 Henry III.; other rolls earlier. From them, and the ancient deeds which Mr. Riley has set out in his report, we regain, he remarks, a knowledge of many of the early mayors and bailiffs of the place, the latter officers being also known as “Præpositi,” reeves or provosts, at an

* “Annals of Windsor,” by R. F. Tighe and J. E. Davis (1858).

early date. Alexander Dublet, a wealthy burgess evidently, and probably a man of high worth and eminence in his day, was mayor for several years in the time of Henry III.; Peter Pecock, Clement the clerk, and Master Peter de Benham (who was also for some time Warden of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist in Wallingford), being also mayors in the same reign. Thomas Hyton, Clerk of Chausey (Cholsey), was mayor for seven years in the reign of Edward I., and John Maryot for seven years or more in the reigns of Edward I. and his successor. The Guildhall had selds (warehouses open at the sides) beneath it, let to traders. This is mentioned as existing in the time of Edward II., and at an earlier date the town had its fish-market, corn-market, and linen-market. Weavers are mentioned early, as in the number of the burgesses, and it is not improbable that flax may have been grown in this vicinity.

Comparatively few streets or lanes are mentioned so early as the time of Henry III., and houses and lands were mostly described here, as in other places at that date, by their position relatively to other messuages or tenements.

In reference to the names of persons, it is remarkable to what an extent, within two centuries after the Norman Conquest, the former Saxon nomenclature had disappeared.* Among its burgesses—the persons who then constituted the middle class—it also deserves notice how many noble, or at least distinguished, names from about A.D. 1250 to 1320 are here to be met with. The English court was at times, as we have seen, attracted thither, particularly by the Earl of Cornwall, the occupant of the Castle; and in some instances, at least, it seems not improbable that these individuals may have been the descendants, through younger branches, of families of rank. Among such names, adds Riley, may be reckoned De Ros, Glanvyle, Marmyon, Beaumont, Mandeville, Rokeby, and De Montfort; the latter name—which at least, in some instances, lies concealed under the form of “Mumford” at the present day—being borne by a man who was a weaver by trade. Four surnames also occur, more or less frequently, among the burgesses, which were borne by English bishops, either before or in after times—Folliot, Nonaunt, Harewell, and Heyworth.

* Riley expressed the opinion, so far as the documents he had inspected, and which commenced in the reign of Henry I., enabled him to judge, that there were only two Saxon names then existing.

Among the curious surnames of persons occurring in these records, and showing that some surnames at least must have been forced on the people, whether they liked them or not, may be mentioned John Time-of-day, Nicholas Three-half-pence, Turnpeni, Scaldwater, Mainwrench, Langheregawd (? proud of long hair), Alice Longhair, Ironfoot, Broken-foot, Herodes, and Gunwaker. Other hardly less singular names are Swanesfot, Peekepeni, Hurlebat, Petipas, Waps (? for Wasp), Pesewips (Peewit), Brusebaston (Breakstick), Putti, Whiteneck (given as cum Albo Collo), Pelikoc, Moppe, Tredewater, Sanguine, Goldeye, Skyllicake, Kykaw, Hentekake, Scikerwit, Wholeheart, Wrawe, Elixer, and Mustardy. We may assume that these were originally nicknames, which stuck to the persons to whom they were given.

BURGHMOTE.

At the Burghmote, or Portmote, the chief officers of the town (the mayor and the provosts or bailiffs) presided; and in the rolls are to be found registered such cases as came under the cognizance of the court—actions of debt, detainer, trespass, and assault. The rolls in Henry the Third's time,* in Latin, are written in minute and neat hands, much abbreviated, and at times difficult to decipher. The Latin is mostly very corrupt. The extracts are taken from about one-tenth part, throwing some light upon life and manners in the place at that remote date. The courts were frequently held on Sunday.

BURGHMOTE ROLL.

16 Henry III. (1232). Robert de Ros makes plaint against Alexander de Stalles, for that he did curse † and unjustly treat him; the loss or disgrace of which he would not have had for two shillings. There is another plaint for calling him a thief, and maltreating him.

The assize of ale, bread, and corn, was set at the Burghmote in the 16th year of Henry III., and probably periodically.

At another Burghmote, "a day of love" (for reconciliation) was named as between Robert de Ros and Alexander de Stalles; Alice, sister of Ralph the cook, makes plaint against

* Burghmote Courts are recorded to have been held in the 22nd of Henry II.

† Maledixit.

Walter, son of Emma, for calling her a harlot, and saying that she took thofbote (money for screening a thief).

John de Sotewelle makes plaint against Richard Pain, that the same Richard came in the place of the lord (the king) and of the bailiffs, to the quarry of Craumerse (Crowmarsh), and caused his cart and horse to be seized, and carried off an iron of his cart, and detained it against pledge and surety; the damage or disgrace of which he would not have had for five shillings or more, and he brought his suit sufficiently thereon. The same Richard defends himself sufficiently, word for word against him and his suit. At the judgment he is to make his law. The sureties for his so making his law were Alexander Dublet and William del Port.

22 Henry III. (1238). Walter Hurur (maker of "hures" or hairy caps) complains of Ysabel of Hundestrute, for that she cursed him because he asked for one match [*i. lincellum*]. Damage, 6*d.*

Cecily de Chauseye against Alice Petipas, for calling her a "tarquene;" and Witer against Scat for calling him "irichun."

A day of love was given, in Burghmote, to Basse and De Halle, eight days hence, and unless they agree the pleas are to be the same as on the first day, under a penalty.

50 Henry III. (1266). A day of love, by consent, is given for Nicholas Orfeure and Brother Walter de Hakeburne to be reconciled and essoigned, so that they come to the next court; and they found sureties.

Because Brother Richard, the Abbot of Reading, has not come to the chief Burghmote, either by way of essoign or by attorney, it was adjudged that the lord abbot be distrained to cure his default.

John le Suoler makes plaint of William Clerk of Mortimer, as to the great violence and injury which he inflicted on him on Friday next before the Feast of our Lord's Nativity, in the 50th year of the reign of king (Henry), son of King John; whereas the said John sent his boy, Robin Praunce, for ale to the house of the said William at the hour of curfew (*piritegi*), strangers therein arose, and took the said Robin by his hair and clothes, etc.

Walter the sacrist (or sexton) appoints Nicholas de Stalles as his attorney to seek the rent from the rector of the church of St. Leonard, which he forcibly withholds from him.

The roll of amercements and of receipts in the 13th of Henry III. (A.D. 1229), consists of four long sheets of parchment, in fair condition, sewed together, and are in Latin.

For assize of ale broken, an amercement of twopence half-penny was imposed and received from the wife of Robert Gunwaker.

John de Mungewelle, for getting in his debt from the Lady of Stokes, sevenpence.

For assize of bread broken, Cecily Pinpin was amerced and paid one penny.

Acquisition (*adquisitionem super*) from a man because he was with Aliz Longhair (*cum Capillis*), thirty-seven pence. "She probably had a mark against her as a bad character" (Riley).

From Robert Fitz-Reginald, for raising the hue (hue and cry).

TRADES.

There are a number of rolls containing lists of traders. The earliest roll is written on two skins of parchment, and belongs to the year 1227, having for title, in Latin, "The Roll of Payers in Walengford, in the 11th year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John; Andrew Fitz-Godwin and Walter Ma . . ., Provosts." It contains a list, under different trades, or rather companies representing trades, of all the inhabitants of Wallingford who in that year were assessed for a certain payment, apparently a tax on income. The assessments vary from four shillings down to twopence.

The first twenty-nine names have no trade set against them as a class, but their profits probably arose from the sale of corn; the list beginning with Howell, who pays 28*d.* in two payments. The "Sutores," or shoemakers, follow, 34 in number; the "Wantiers," or glovers, are next, 17 in number, —some persons who were evidently tailors or clothiers belonging to the company. Then the "Mercenarii," or mercenaries, 44 in number, William Yris (Irish) paying the large sum of 42*d.*; among them are Radulf the painter, Richard Lokiere (locksmith), Alexander le Savonier (? the sooper), Godfrey the "Tynekere" of Dorkestre (Dorchester), Richard the "Tynekere," Hugh the mercer paying four shillings, the largest sum paid. Then follow the "Ferrones," or iron-

mongers, seven in number; the "Fabri," or smiths, 12 in number, Thomas le Lingedrapier (linendraper) being one of them, and paying 32*d.* Then the carpenters, their number being ten, and including wheelers and coopers. The weavers number four, the fullers five, and the bakers seventeen. At this point the roll stops short, the latter half of the membrane, containing fishermen and others, having been cut away. Although as a rule the companies were restricted to a particular class of traders, yet it would seem that in some few instances traders of a different occupation were admitted. Among the seventeen glovers, a tailor and a clothier appear; a painter, a locksmith, and a tinker are among the forty-four mercers; and a linendraper appears to belong to the Company of Blacksmiths. These cases are rare, and it may be that such names as "Richard Lokiere," "Thomas le Lingedrapier," were merely the designation by which the parties were known. On the reverse of the roll are the payments exacted from the forenses (? foreigners or market men), many from their names being inhabitants of the adjoining villages—Ewelme, Bensinton, Preste Craumerse, Wittenham, Newnham, Pangburne, Dorchester, Molesford, Wardberge, and Chalfgrave. Among them a man with the name of "John Pesewips" pays sixpence. The largest sum paid in this class is 28*d.* by Gilbert Justise; many were evidently so poor that they were forced to find townspeople as their surety.

A like roll for A.D. 1230 has survived, "14 King Henry, son of King John, in the time of Hugh Serich and Stephen . . ., Provosts." As before, the opening list of names has no trade set against it. The form "Eadmund" occasionally appears both here and elsewhere. In this list Robert le Pig is assessed at 3*d.*, Richard Babel at 6*d.*, and Richard Wraw pays the large sum of 40*d.* The "Carnifices," or butchers, appear here as a company, 12 in number. In the preceding roll most of the same names appear grouped together, but no title of a trade is set against them. Among the shoemakers, Robert de Ros this year pays the large sum of 4*s.* "Bolteres" (perhaps meaning "millers") are 5 in number. Thomas the linendraper, who was in the list of blacksmiths in the preceding roll, is more appropriately among the "mercers" in this. The "Piscatores," or fishermen, whose names were cut off from the preceding roll, are here fourteen in number. The obverse of

the roll ends with a list of women assessed as residing in the town, probably earning incomes of their own, on which the assessment is made. Among them are "Pania Sacerdotis," the priest's servant Pania, elsewhere "Pavi," or "Pani;" "Hawis, amica Roberti" (mistress of Robert); "Aliz la Rumbe;" "Bona," paying the comparatively large sum of 16*d.*, and "Yngeleis" of 20*d.*; from 2*d.* to 8*d.* being the sums usually paid by the women. "Edonia Scaldewater" pays 8*d.* and "Aliz cum Capillis," 2*d.*; "Aliz la Lavendere" (laundress) pays 2*d.*; "Cecily Pippin," 6*d.*; and "Matildis la Wexmangere" (waxmonger) pays 4*d.* On the reverse of the roll, after the "Forenses" or market men, a list is given of the inhabitants of Craumerse paying contributions, on a smaller scale apparently than persons from a greater distance. Among the market women, "Oreng of Craumerse" is named, but without any assessment.

The next roll is for the 16th of Henry III. (A.D. 1232). In the opening list, without any company mentioned, is "Radulf" of the sacristy. In the roll, Long-haired Alice is assessed at fourpence. The "Feminæ forenses," or market women, are but fourteen in number, the market men probably more than one hundred. At the close of this roll there are eight lines in Latin, of which the following is a translation:— "Delivered by Simon Gurmund, of the rent of Wallingeford, at the first visit of the lord the king, on the day of St. Denis, to the sergeants of the market, in hay and oats, 11*d.* At the second visit of the lord the king, for the Feast of St. Edmund, to the sergeants of the market, in hay and oats, 11*d.*; parchment, 1*d.* To Henry the clerk, for his service at Christmas term, 15*d.* To the prebendary, 7*s.* 8½*d.* At the visit of the lord the king, before our Lord's Ascension, to the sergeant of the market, in hay and oats, 10*d.* To Henry, Clerk of St. Mary's, 15*d.* To Alexander Dublet, for his journey to London, 18*d.* At the last visit of the lord the king, before the Feast of St. Michael, to the sergeants of the market, 6*d.* To the prebendary, for the term of St. Michael, 7*s.* 8½*d.* For the expenses of the . . . of the prebendary, Ralph Culebule, 4*d.* To William Pret, for his horse for London, 8*d.*"

The next roll is for the 18th of Henry III. (A.D. 1234), Richard Blawe and Robert de Ros being provosts. It is in good preservation, and beautifully written. No trade or com-

pany is mentioned in the opening list. After a classification of trades, there is an entry as to the king's visit in Lent. At about this time, King Henry was staying, at times probably, at Windsor and Woodstock; and his visits, Riley remarks, to his youthful brother, Richard, Earl of Cornwall, at the Castle of Wallingford, would not be unfrequent. This remark applies more particularly to the year 1232.

In the next roll, 19 Henry III. (1235), the market men are very numerous. At the close are a few lines in Latin, to the following effect:—"Delivered by Hugh Serich, at the first visit of the lord the king, to the sergeants of the market, 15s.; at the second visit of the lord the king, 7d.; at the third visit, to the sergeants of the market, 10d. To the prebendary, for Easter term, 7s. 7½d.; and a like sum for another term."

The next roll is for the 20th of Henry III. In it is a record of livery by John Hentelue, of the rent. On the first visit of the king, to the sergeants of the market, thirteen pence half-penny; on the second visit, for bread and ale to the said sergeants, fourpence . . . For repairing the trebuchet (cucking-stool), sevenpence half-penny."

There are many other rolls, some in a mutilated condition, belonging to various periods between the years 1228 and 1250.

On a roll dated about the year 1237, there is an entry of which the following is a translation:—"Delivered to William the clerk, on the visit of the lord the king, after the Purification, in corn, oats, and ale, fifteen pence . . . To the Castle for two terms, 10 li. For the term of St. Michael, to the same, 9 li. For cups sent to the countess,* two shillings."

A roll for about the year 1265 is imperfect. This was a time of civil war, and the assessments are so low as to be indicative of great poverty.

In the account for the 51st of Henry III. (A.D. 1267), contained in the roll for that year, which consists of three membranes, a new set of traders appears, under the name of "Arconarii," some trade connected with wool. They appear to take the place of the preceding "Bolteres," but in increased numbers.

* Isabel, daughter of William Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, wife of Richard, Earl of Cornwall; she died in 1240.

FEE FARM RENTS.

There are several rolls containing an account of fee farm rents, due apparently from all persons holding houses or land in Wallingford, the Earl of Cornwall being probably the recipient thereof. The earliest in date is A.D. 1229, and has its title in Latin thus translated:—"Roll of the Rents of Wallingford, in the 13th year of the reign of King Henry, son of King John, in the time of Alexander Dubelet and Richard Blawe, Provosts." The former is to all appearance the greatest land-owner, as paying various sums of 6*d.*, 16*d.*, 8*d.*, 3½*d.*, 17*s.*, 9*d.*, and of 10*d.* "for the seld." One half-penny, by Thomas Kake, is the smallest sum paid. The Prior of the Holy Trinity pays 6*s.* 11½*d.* The brethren of St. John's, 14*d.* The names of Nicholas, John, and William Threepence occur. The entries in this roll, which is finely written, are from 160 to 170 in number.

The next roll is for the fifteenth year of Henry III. (1231). On the reverse of this roll is an entry, in Latin, somewhat mutilated, of which the following is a part:—"Delivered by Robert le Franceis. For parchment, 2*d.*; to Henry the clerk, for his service, 5*d.* At the visit of the lord the king, on the day of the Epiphany, to the sergeants of the market, 4*d.* For hens for a present, which was made to the earl and the Bishop of Cardoil (Carlisle) . . . fourpence. For repairing the pillory * and trebuchet (cucking-stool), 16½*d.* To the prebend of the lord the king, 7*s.* 8½*d.* [For repairing] the wall before the door of James the chaplain, one penny. At the coming of the lord the king to Wallingford, . . . for hay and oats, eightpence. At the first coming of the countess (Isabel, who had been married the year before), providing in her behalf, from John. . . . To the mayor, when he went to London, on the matter of Crawmerse. . . . For a present sent to the Lord Bishop of Cardul (Carlisle), at Huntercumb, 5*s.* 1*d.* To the clerk . . ."

[NOTE.—The Bishop of Carlisle was at this time lord treasurer, but soon afterwards he lost the office. The manor of Huntercombe is on the Chiltern Hills, east of

* There is a bill in the early part of the reign of Henry III. for making the borough stocks.

the town, and has been before referred to in the reign of King Stephen.]

In the roll for the 19th of Henry III. (A.D. 1235), alms are entered as having been allowed from the rents to Garinge (Goring), 12*s.*, and to Dorchester, 2*s.*

[NOTE.—The grant was, no doubt, to the small nunnery at Goring, and the Priory of Black Canons at Dorchester, or to the poor.]

On the reverse, in Latin, are the following entries:—"For a present sent to the countess, 12*s.* For Alexander Dubelet, when he went to Radinge (Reading), before the Justices in Eyre, 33*d.*"

In the next roll, twentieth year of the same reign (A.D. 1236), among other entries, are the following:—"To a messenger of Sir Robert de Lexintone, 6*d.* To a messenger to the Prior of Winchester, 8*d.* For repairing the trebuchet, 18*d.*" (apparently in frequent use, judging from the constant repairs). "To William the carpenter, for repairing a seat in the barn of Peter the vintner, against the coming of Sir Robert de Lexintone, 2½*d.* For a present sent to the seneschal, 6½*d.* For a journey to Burchamsted, to pay the ferm (rent), 17½*d.* At the second visit of the lord the king, to the sergeants of the market, 4*d.* For a present sent to the lord the earl, 2*s.*"

[NOTE.—Robert de Lexintone was probably senior justiciary; and having to sit here on some judicial business, no place more convenient for his sitting could probably be found than the barn of Peter the vintner. If such is not the meaning of the word "*orrea*" (*horreum*, a barn), possibly "*area*," a threshing-floor, may be meant.]

The next roll is for the 28th of Henry III. (1244). "At the visit of the king at Christmas, for bread and wine, 15*d.* For repairing the tumbrel, sixpence. For cups sent to the countess, 4*s.* Payments made to the Castle, 20*l.*"

[NOTE.—This countess was Earl Richard's second wife, Senchia of Provence, married 23rd [22nd] November, 1243, *ante*, p. 311.]

Roll, 36 Henry III. (A.D. 1252). The rents now paid individually are not so large as they were.

Riley remarks, "It deserves notice what a singular variety of female names is to be found in these rolls, more

especially so as compared with those found in the records of the city of London, a century to a century and a half later, where almost every second female was called either 'Joan' or 'Christina,' names which are here of great rarity." He then gives numerous names, from which I extract the following:—Estrilda, Scolastica, Elewiz, Aliz or Alixa (for Alice), Claria, Asselina, Hawis, Bona, Yngeleis, Justine, Gunnild, Albreta, Juweta, Sueta, Dionisia, Sabelina, Alota, Edelota, Evelota, Orenge, Roysa, Limota, Pimma, Ydelota, Wymarca, Ysoda, Helietta, Agasa, Adula, Greca, Piancia, Cinelote, Magota, Ybbe, Marcilia, Gunelina, Tomason. The English court, so often held here, and the frequent visits of the nobility, with their retainers, had, no doubt, been the means of introducing many of these names.

Among the miscellaneous documents in this reign, the following may be noticed.

A small parchment deed, in Latin, finely written, without date, but *temp.* Henry III., the seal in dark-green wax, a kind of floriated cross, with the legend, "S. Wilelmi Radele," nearly perfect, whereby William de Radelye grants to Alan Tannore, of Wallingford, a part of his messuage in the parish of St. Lucian, which extends towards the milldam of the Earl (of Cornwall), at a yearly rent of a half-penny. Witnesses, Clement the clerk, Mayor, Nicholas de Stalles, and others.

A parchment deed, in Latin, beautifully written, *temp.* Henry III. The seal in green wax is perfect, and represents a lily, with legend, "S. Rog. de Grene La," whereby Roger de la Grene Lane grants to John Hentelune a messuage in the parish of St. Leonard, and one acre in Chalfmore, rendering to Roger one pair of white gloves, value one half-penny, at Easter; he having received forty shillings beforehand. Witnesses, Peter Pekoc, mayor, and others, "and the whole Burghmote."

Another grant in the same reign is of one acre of cultivated land in Winterbroc, extending to Winterdich, for a yearly rent of four silver pennies.

A parchment deed, in Latin, *temp.* Henry III., being a grant of a messuage "at the south gate, near that formerly of Osbert the baker." Among the witnesses are Alexander Dublet, mayor, and others named, "as well as the Burghmote."

Another grant, probably before the year 1257, when Richard, Earl of Cornwall, was elected King of the Romans,

of a messuage in the parish of St. Leonard, by John Henteluue, of Wallingford, to Matilda his daughter, rendering yearly to the Lord of Bastildene twopence farthing rent, and to Sir Richard, Earl of Cornwall, one penny, and to the grantor one penny, but in case of Matilda's death, "without lawfully assigning the same, or without heir of her body, then the said property is to go to the next younger child, of whichever sex, begotten of him the grantor and Joan his wife." Among the witnesses are Alexander Dublet, mayor, Nicholas de Stalles, Clement the clerk, Alan the physician [medico], John Robechild, Alan le Tannur, Thomas the linendraper, John de London, William the clerk, "and many others, with the whole Burgemote."

Another grant is without date, but *temp.* Henry III., of two messuages opposite the "Church of Saint John" at Wallingford, by William son of Symon de Wallingford, to the "brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, without the south gate at Wallingford."

A parchment deed, in Latin, about 42 Henry III., being a grant by Richard the cook, son of Andrew the cook, of Wallingford, to the aldermen and gildans of the gild of the same vill, of twenty-eight pence of yearly rent for the messuage where Jordan Orfeure (or Goldsmith) sometime dwelt, in the parish of St. Mary-the-Less, in Wallingford. Among the witnesses are the Lord Prior of Wallingford, John de Wardberge, clerk, Nicholas de Mungewell, John, Bailiff of Chauseye. There is another grant of two-thirds of the tenement next to the tenement which sometime belonged to "Sir Symon, Rector of the Church of St. Leonard," and extending towards the Thames, at the yearly rent of one clove at Michaelmas.

A parchment deed, finely written, the seal lost, without date, but *temp.* Henry III., executed by the famous Earl of Leycester. By it Symon de Munford, Earl of Leycester, grants to God and the brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, at Wallingford, for the health of his soul, and for the souls of all his ancestors and successors, in perpetual alms, eightpence of rent of assize, which he was wont to receive of them for one acre of land held of him in Chalmore, between the land of Alexander Dublet on either side. Witnesses, Peter de Benham then mayor, Alexander

Dublet, Richard de Britwalton, Nicholas, Stephen and Alexander de Stalles, brothers, Symon Raven, Eustace Fitzclement, John Hyne, William Blawe, John de Wallingford, clerk, and others.

By another deed, Alice, relict of Richard de Bensintone, Mason, grants to God and to the brethren and sisters of the said Hospital of St. John, her right in a moiety of a messuage which she had in the name of dower, situate in the parish of St. John, in Wallingford, formerly belonging to Godfrey le Alderman.

By deed, in Latin, about the same time, John de Abendone, plumber, with the consent of Alice his wife, "and for their common business," grants to William, son of John de Wallingford, tapiser (*tapinatori*), a tenement lying between that of Peter Farthyng, and that which belonged to Osbert Cully, in the parish of St. Michael.

A small parchment deed, in Latin, without date, but *temp.* Henry III., whereby Walter Pippard notifies, "to all sons of Holy Mother Church, as well modern as to come," that he has granted, for the health of his soul and the soul of Emma his wife, to God and the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, one acre of land in the vill of Gathamtone.

And by another parchment deed, in Latin, *temp.* Henry III., Geoffrey de Luekenor, knight, grants to John de Stok, priest, for one hundred shillings sterling, paid beforehand, a messuage in the parish of St. Michael, in Wallingford; he rendering to the lords of the said tenement the due and accustomed service for the same, and to himself and his heirs, one clove at Easter. Witnesses, Alexander de Stalles, mayor, and others named, "and others, with the whole Portmote."

A parchment indenture, in Latin, without date, but *temp.* Henry III., a fragment of the seal being left, whereby Ralph the chaplain, Master of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, in Wallingford, and the brethren and sisters thereof, grant to Stephen the carpenter, son of Robert ate Wypege, of Bensinton, for four shillings and sixpence paid, one seld, with a tiled solar and small tiled chamber, where the said Stephen used to abide. It is added, "Of this deed we retain a transcript, sealed with the seal of the said Stephen, to testify the form and manner of the said feoffment."

A parchment grant from Stephen de Stalles, for five marks

of silver, to the brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, of two acres and a half of cultivable land in the plain of Neweham.

Another parchment deed, in Latin, without date, but probably 56 Henry III., the seal lost, whereby Sibelya, daughter of Adam le Minitare, of Fouleskote, grants to Thomas, son of Robert Waryn, of Hakeburne, a messuage lying between the churchyard of St. Mary de Stalles, and the messuage of Peter, son of Osbert the baker, sixty-seven feet long and sixteen feet in depth, for a yearly payment to herself and her heirs of one clove at Easter; and to Nicholas, son of Clement the clerk, and his heirs or assigns, of six shillings; and one penny for all service to the chief lord, forty shillings of silver having been paid beforehand. Among the witnesses are Nicholas Orfeure (or Goldsmith), mayor, and others, "with the whole Burgmote."

A parchment indenture, in Latin, finely written, being a mortgage of a seld in High Street, for securing sixty shillings lent by Alexander Dublet, Mayor of Wallingford, and the gildans of the said vill, to Nicholas de Stalles, to be repaid on or before the octave of St. Faith the Virgin, in the forty-second year of the reign of Henry III. Witnesses, Sir Godfrey, Prior of Wallingford, and others, "and the whole Portemot."

A large parchment deed, in Latin, dated 56 Henry III., whereby William Alane demises for nine years, to Richard de Benetlye and Alice his wife, a messuage in the parish of St. Lucian, in Wallingford, opposite the corn-market, except the solar (*solarium*, "upper storey"), and outdoor (*forinseca*) chamber, with ingress and egress through the doors of the solar into the street. William and his heirs shall find for the said Richard and Alice a furnace and flue, a great vat, and a tub for brewing, and shall make a stable for four horses, and an outdoor chamber; but if said William shall wish to give his daughter in marriage, and to give her the messuage, then the lessees are to remove. Witnesses, Nycholas Orfeure, mayor, and others.

CHAPTER XI.

EDWARD I. AND II.—1272 TO 1327.

A.D. 1272, 1 Edward I.

THE Castle of Wallingford having descended to Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, on the death of his father, with the other large possessions, the earl, on the 7th of December, brought his bride to Wallingford, and in the Castle there kept a magnificent feast, for the barons and great men.* The bride was Margaret, sister of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, whom he married about Michaelmas preceding, some six weeks before the death of the king, which took place on the 16th of November. The above feast was, therefore, celebrated about three weeks after his death.

Three years before the marriage, a great difference existed between Prince Edward and Earl Gilbert, which was referred to the arbitration of Richard, King of the Romans, who, on the 26th of June, 1269, drew up articles for their mutual agreement, one of which was that the earl should accompany the prince in his expedition to the Holy Land.†

A.D. 1273. Early in this reign, legal proceedings were instituted by Robert de Ferrers, who had lost his title of Earl of Derby in consequence of his treason in the previous reign, to recover his castles and lands, which were held by Henry the Third's son, Edmund, Earl of Leicester and Lancaster. The latter alleged that Robert de Ferrers had, in the previous reign, pledged them to him, as a security for the sum of fifty thousand pounds, covenanted by a deed of Richard de Ferrers

* Chronicle of Thomas Wikes; "*Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores*;" Chronicle of Wallingford, vol. ii. p. 98.

† Chronicle, Thomas Wikes.

to be paid for his release from prison, and for the redemption of these possessions, and that he failed to pay that sum, so that the property had become forfeited. The earl replied "that this deed was by him so made and sealed at Cyppeham, upon the feast day of the Apostles Philip and James, 53 Henry III., at such time as he was a prisoner there; and that, being before in the king's prison at Windsor, he was carried thence to Cyppeham, when he so sealed the same as a prisoner, and for fear of corporal mischief; and moreover, that when he had so done, he was taken thence by armed men, and conveyed, with a strong guard to the Castle of Wallingford, where he remained in restraint for three weeks, until Prince Edward (afterwards king) did procure his liberty." The court gave judgment against the plaintiff, dismissing his suit, on the ground that the deed was acknowledged before the chancellor, and that every man being there was free to express his mind fully.*

A.D. 1275-76. In consequence of an inquisition respecting Crown property in Oxfordshire, whereat the jurors of the hundred of Ewelme declared that the manor of Swyncombe, in the honour of Wallingford, was anciently in the hands of the predecessors of the king, but that by what warrant and by whom it was alienated, they were ignorant; another inquisition was held in the year 1279, and the jurors found that "the Abbot and Convent of Bec, in Normandy, held the whole vill of Swyncombe, by the gift formerly of Miles Crispin, in free, pure, and perpetual alms, without reserve, with all its privileges, even as Miles himself freely held it. And these gifts and privileges belong to the said manor, videlicet, fire, water, gallows, pillory, and ducking-stool, which were confirmed by the charter of King Henry, son of the Empress Matilda. Also the aforesaid abbot and convent have a warren there, by the gift of King Henry,† the son of King John, and of ancient time a fair, which has for some time been accustomed to be held on St. Botolph's [St. Martin's?] Day, before the court-gate; and there are in demesne two plough lands, with the appurtenances, and a certain plot of wood, belonging to the said manor, and it is of

* Dugdale, "The Baronage of England," tom. i. p. 264, citing Plac. Coram Rege.

† Charter Roll, 37 Henry III., m. 7.

the honour of Wallingford." * Notwithstanding this finding, the Crown, on two subsequent occasions, instituted proceedings for the recovery of this property, which lasted till the year 1285, and resulted in favour of the convent. Its abbot, by name Ymer, was, it is said, a man of ability, and a zealous defender of the rights of his order; boldly asserting that Miles Crispin the manor gave to God and St. Mary of Bec, which gift was confirmed by William the Conqueror and Henry III. He raised the issue whether the king could maintain an action for the recovery of the property against the act of his predecessors. The finding was against the Crown, and the abbot and monks held the manor till about the commencement of the reign of Edward III. without interruption; after which it fell into the king's hands, having probably been seized in time of war, as a possession in England claimed by a foreign monastery. The English revenues of such convents were frequently taken in this way, though sometimes restored on the return of peace; confiscation took place twice *temp.* Edward III., and restoration followed.† On the passing of the Act of Parliament of 2 Henry V. (1414), all alien priories, etc., were dissolved, and their estates vested in the Crown.

A.D. 1276. The king this year honoured his cousin Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, with a visit at his Castle of Wallingford.‡

He was at Wallingford the next year, and heard the complaints and quarrel that had occurred between the Prior of Dunstable and the king's falconers, who mortally wounded the prior's chaplain.§

In the following year (1278), the earl founded ¶ the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas, in his Castle of Wallingford, and endowed it with lands and rents for the maintenance of a master, five chaplains, six clerks, and four "cofferers." Two years afterwards, he further endowed the college. The charter of foundation is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.¶¶

* Hundred Roll, vol. ii. p. 757.

† Bymer, vol. ii. pt. ii. pp. 957, 982, and vol. iv. p. 779.

‡ Lysons' "Magna Britannia: Berkshire."

§ "Chronicle of Dunstable." ¶ Dugdale, tom. iii. pp. 84, 85.

¶¶ Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. cxxx. fol. 126.

A full account of this college, and of the other monastic institutions in the town, and of the proceedings of its last dean, the notorious Dr. London, appears in Part II.

The earl obtained the king's precept to the Barons of the Exchequer, that they should not exact more from him for the honour and Castle of Wallingford than the service of three knights' fees, by which the grant had been made to his father and his heirs in 15 Henry III.*

On the 2nd of June, 1280, the earl granted to his servant, John de le Russe, two pieces of meadow, called Pontires Eytes, lying near the Thames, in the liberty of Clapcot, for the yearly rent of one rose, to be paid in the Castle of Wallingford. The charter, in Latin, is set out in Kennett.†

The same earl built and endowed the monastery in the north suburbs of Oxford, sometime called North Oseney, and he made provision for six Cistercian monks ‡ to pray therein for the soul of his father, Richard, King of the Romans, in the place of three secular priests, who had before performed that office. He also founded, in 1283, the first college § for the order of the Bonhommes, at Asherugge (Ashridge), Bucks., where he died.

In A.D. 1279, the name of "Lord" Russel occurs, as Steward of the honour of Wallingford, attesting a charter of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall.

A.D. 1293, 21 Edward I. Wallingford is one of the oldest parliamentary boroughs, having sent members to Parliament as early as the twenty-first or twenty-third year of this reign || perhaps earlier; the representatives being the principal inhabitants of the town, most frequently the mayor and one of his colleagues, who were paid for their attendance in Parliament out of the borough funds. A few years before, namely, in 1284, the number of cities and boroughs that returned members was confined, according to Lingard, to twenty-one. In 1295, the number was increased to one hundred and ten, market towns being also represented, and afterwards the number was again augmented, and no aids were to be levied without the consent of Parliament. The ready acquiescence of the town deputies

* Dugdale, "The Baronage of England."

† "Parochial Antiquities," p. 416.

‡ W. Dugdale; Kennett. § Holinshed.

|| Rees, "Cyclopædia."

in voting supplies appears to have occasioned this extended representation. The grants, says Lingard, of these deputies "usually amounted to one-third more than those of the higher orders, which was the principal object for which their presence was required; with matters of state, men in their humble situations could not be conversant, and they were therefore occasionally dismissed while the peers continued their sittings."

In the next volume will be found a chapter devoted to the representation of the borough.

A.D. 1297. Agatha de Oxon was elected prioress in the Nunnery of Garinges (now Goring), com. Oxon, a *congé d'élire* being first obtained from Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, "who was patron by no other title but that the said house was situate within his honour of Wallingford."*

A.D. 1298. A dispute arose in this year involving the question whether the steward of Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, as lord of the honour of Wallingford, had by custom the right to be boarded and entertained at the charge of the Prior of St. Frideswyde, at Oxford, on the occasion of his holding a court at Knyttenton, in the county of Berks, where the earl was possessed of some demesne land. On a complaint being made, the earl sent a mandate to his steward to make a special inquisition, and to return him the full and just account. The jury found that the entertainment at the courts was given by extortion, and not by right. Whereupon the earl directed another precept to Simon de Grenhull, Steward of his honour of Wallingford, "to refrain from such oppression of the said prior," etc. Dated the 4th of July, 26 Edward I.†

In this year, a Scottish prisoner, named Mak Beke, was confined in the Castle of Wallingford.‡

A.D. 1299. Walter de Ailesbury, a tenant of the Earl of Cornwall, was by the said earl constituted Governor of the Castle and honour of Wallingford, and of the barony of St. Valery; § and in the next year, the earl granted to William

* Reg. de Eynesham, Diar. 127.

† Regist. St. Frideswyde MS., carta.

‡ "Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland," by Rev. Joseph Stevenson, vol. i. p. 270.

§ W. Dugdale, "Antiquities."

de Bereford and Margaret his wife, a fishery in the Thames, from Shillingford Bridge* to the stream running from Yeldenebrigg, between Bensyndon and Shillingford, which fishery was valued at half a mark yearly.

The earl died at his convent of Asherugge, on the 1st of October in this year. "His bowels were immediately there buried; his heart and flesh were more solemnly interred on the 12th of January, in the presence of Edmund, the king's son, two bishops, . . . and many others. After which his bones were carried to the Abbey of Hales, in Gloucestershire, of his father's foundation, where a magnificent funeral was solemnized on the Thursday before Palm Sunday, which the king honoured with his own presence." He died without legitimate issue; his honours and lands fell to the king, whom he had before declared his heir. In his treasury were found infinite sums of gold and silver, and great store of jewels.† He left one base son, who, from his father's title, was called Sir Richard Cornwall; to whom he gave the manor of East Hall in Lye (now Astol-Lye, within the hundred of Bampton, Oxon), to hold in fee tail. This manor afterwards descended to Sir Humphrey Blount, who by inquisition was found to have held it in fee from Edward, Prince of Wales, as part of the honour of the Castle of Wallingford, for his homage and fealty only.

In this reign, the village of Purley, near Reading, belonged to the honour of Wallingford, as appears by inquisition *post mortem*; but at what time it was separated from the honour does not appear,—probably when the annexation to Ewelme took place by King Henry VIII., since which time the living of Purley has been in the gift of the Crown.

After the earl's death, the following inquisition was taken:—

"A.D. 1300. WALLINGFORD CASTLE AND BOROUGH.‡

"Inquisition made at Walyngford, the last day of October, 28 King Edward, before the escheator of our lord the king, on this side Trent, of the lands and tenements of which Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, was seized in his demesne as of fee at the day of his death; how much he held of the lord the king in

* Bymer, vol. ii. pp. 865, 879. † Kennett, vol. i. p. 485.

‡ 28 Edward I., No. 44.

capite, and how much of others, and by what service; and how much such lands are worth yearly in all issues, and who is his next heir, and of what age; by the oath of John Mariot, Richard de Cippenham, Ralf le Taverner, Henry de Basinges, Simon le Feroun (?), Thomas Gratarde, Henry de Assheden, William le Portere, Roger de Ewelme, Simon Ace, Robert le Norreys, and Ranulf de Falle, jurors. Who say upon their oath that the same Edmund held in his demesne as of fee at the day of his death, of the lord the king *in capite*, the Castle and borough of Walyngford, the hamlet of Clopcot, together with the entire honour of Walyngford, by the service of three knights' fees. And there are in the same Castle certain curtilages within the moat of the said Castle, and they are worth yearly, as in herbage and fruit, five shillings. And there are without the Castle four water-mills, to wit, two corn-mills, and the other two malting mills, which are worth yearly twelve pounds; but the lord finds the millstones and great timber for the said mills, and keeps in repair the houses and pools of the said mills. Also they say that the burgesses of the said borough of Walyngford held the said borough of the lord earl at the day of his death, rendering yearly at the two annual terms, to wit, on the morrow of St. Michael, and on the morrow of Easter, forty pounds in white money, which are worth forty-two pounds. Also they say that there are in the same hamlet of Clopcote, belonging to the said Castle, forty acres of meadow, which are worth yearly ten pounds, value per acre five shillings; and the profits of the same meadow, when it can be raised, because of the overflowing of the waters, is worth yearly twenty shillings. There is also one water-mill, which, with a certain island to the said mill adjacent, is worth yearly 33s. 4d. There is also a certain fishery in the Thames, from the king's mill under the Castle, and from the brook of the Bishop of Winchester unto the stream which runs from Sildenebrugg, and falls into the Thames, and is worth yearly 12s. 6d. There are also freeholders, who render yearly 20s. 8½d., of whom the Master of the Hospital of St. John of Walyngford holds a certain tenement which belonged to William Martel, rendering yearly one pound of cummin on the octave of St. Michael, value 1½d. And William de Bereford holds one messuage, render-

ing yearly at the said two terms, 4*d*. And the same William holds a tenement which belonged to Henry Idon, rendering yearly at the same terms, 6*s*. 8*d*. And the same William holds one croft, rendering yearly at the said two terms, 2*d*. And Nicholas atte Barre holds one messuage, rendering yearly at the said two terms, 12*d*. And Henry de Porta holds one messuage, rendering yearly at the same terms, 11*d*. And Henry de Basinges holds a certain waste, rendering yearly at the same terms, 6*d*. And the aforesaid tenants give yearly at the said terms, for the carriage * of the meadow together, 6*s*. And John, the son of Roger, holds five acres of land, rendering yearly at the same terms, 5*s*.

"Sum total of the value of the said Castle, borough, and hamlet, with the aforesaid mills, £68 11*s*. 6½*d*."

Henlee. Then follows a description of the holdings of the late earl in Henley-on-Thames. A few years before his death he had presented to the church of that town.

"Also they say that the Lord Edward, King of England, kinsman of the said Edmund, is his next heir, and is of full age.

"In witness whereof, the aforesaid jurors have placed their seals to this inquisition."

A.D. 1301-2, 29 and 30 Edward I. The king commanded † Walter de Aylesbury, Keeper of the honour of Wallingford, to deliver the manor of Bensington to Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and Marshal of England.

A writ was issued for the delivery of prisoners to be sent from Edinburgh to the Castle of Wallingford.‡

A.D. 1307, 35 Edward I. In a former page, 11 Henry III., mention is made of the seizure of the town, because the inhabitants did not appear at the Exchequer, upon the sheriff's view of his account. A like seizure took place in this reign for arrears due to the king for the ferm, and on payment of a fine the town was restored, as appears by the following extract§:—

* May mean management.

† "History of Henley-on-Thames:" "Originalia."

‡ "Documents Illustrative of the History of Scotland," by Stevenson, vol. ii. p. 489.

§ "Trin. Commun;" Rot. 65, an. 35 Edward I.

Robert de Meleburn, Mayor of the borough of Wallingford, made a fine with the king, for himself and the other burgesses of the said borough, of forty shillings, to have the borough returned, which, upon the account of the Sheriff of Berks, was taken into the king's hands for eighty pounds, arrears due to the king for the ferm of the same borough."

A large number of records of this reign are preserved in the corporation chest, most of which Riley has translated. A few of the more interesting are here noticed, but for the full text in most cases a reference must be made to the originals, or to the official report.

The first in date is a long Burghmote roll of 2 Edward I. (A.D. 1274), consisting originally no doubt of more, but now of six, membranes, two of them in an extremely tattered and imperfect condition. The fragment of the first membrane now remaining is in shreds, and the next one, bearing the date above mentioned, are greatly mutilated. The following are some extracts:—

"At the Burghmote holden on the morrow of the Feast of Saint Fridiswitha, precept was given to Thomas Saloman, to render one pound of pepper, arrears of a rent of assize, to Sir Hugh de Hoyvile, before the next court, for the place called 'Coppescroft,' or else to surrender the place by next court.

"William Schilli was amerced for being convicted of making a false loaf, deficient three shillings in weight (one ounce and four-fifths).

"The place which Nicholas Oxford held, and afterwards Walter de Esthalle, in the parish of Saint Michael, was surrendered to the Prioress of Garinge [Goring], for rent withheld on the plea of lapse of time, and the place was so adjudged to the prioress by the court. Coppescroft, before mentioned, was finally surrendered also.

"Burghmote holden on Thursday after the Feast of Saint Katherine, 3 Edward I. Thomas Lindone was amerced, on being convicted of beating his maidservant; Chayche being his surety.

"Benedict Arbalester was amerced for committing a trespass upon William le Gayte (wait or watchman); Chayche being his surety.

"Peter de la Wyke makes plaint against Peter Ywon, of trespass and disgrace (*pudor*) inflicted on him, and that his

wife inflicted on him; by imputing to him the crime and scandal that he sold his wife a sucking pig (*porchet*) that was not wholesome, as she said; the loss or disgrace of which he would not have submitted to for two shillings of silver. Peter Ywon denies it against him, brings his suit [his set of witnesses], and does not make default. Therefore Peter [de la Wyke] is amerced.

"Burghmote holden on the day of St. Lucy the Virgin. Scuter the fisherman and his partner were amerced, on being convicted of selling fish, and buying it, at the water-side, against the prohibition; sureties, Malle and Cache.

"Burghmote holden on Thursday after the day of St. Hilary, 3 Edward I. Adam Heyprost was amerced because he broke the pitcher of Matildis Tulle, full of ale; Richard Mariot his surety.

"Thomas de Halle, who was under sureties to keep the peace, was amerced, on being convicted of fighting at night-time.

"Burghmote holden on Thursday after the Feast of St. Vincent in the same year. Inquisition by the visnet, taken between Osbert the miller and Peter de Wike. The jurors say that Osbert and his wife sold to the said Peter a diseased pig, and they say that the wife of the said Osbert promised the aforesaid Peter to make him amends, so that she might sell the said pig without any noise (*sine tumultu*); wherefore the said Osbert stood amerced." This finding of the jury was afterwards set aside, the jury not having been assented to (*ratificata*) by the said Osbert.

The roll is mutilated at the sixth membrane.

Among the rolls, containing a list, under trades or companies representing trades, of the inhabitants of Wallingford, who were assessed for a certain tax, are the following:—A roll, of two membranes, belonging probably to the earlier half of the reign of Edward I., the commencement of it being lost. The writing is very indistinct throughout. It contains a list of assessments, with the payments (frequently by instalments) set against them. The callings of the persons entered at the beginning of the list are not mentioned. The butchers then follow, headed by Alan Pulegenet, elsewhere written Plukenet; an Alan Plukenet is mentioned by Trivet the Chronicler, p. 365 (edit. Hog.), as being named one of the

Council of Prince Edward in 1297, and in p. 71 of the "*Liber Custumarum* of the City of London" (printed edit.), by the title of Sir Alan Plokenet, as attending in the Guildhall at London, with the other members of the Royal Council in the 25th of Edward I., to announce the abolition of the custom of taking prisage on flesh meat, bread, ale, and other victuals, in the king's name; a tyrannical usage, which, by royal order, was thereupon given up. The Plukenets, it may be remarked, were an ancient family settled at Lamborne, near Hungerford, in Berkshire.

Another butcher on the list has simply the name of "Tymeoffday;" his assessment, 3 shillings, is the largest in the list. The "*Corvisarii*," or shoemakers, follow, 29 in number. The "*Textores*," or weavers, are six in number. Henry Munfort, or Montfort, whose name appears more than once elsewhere, is one of them.

The "*Arconarii*" then follow, succeeded by the "*Cirothecarii*," or glovers, and the carpenters; Hugh Mustarder, who was probably what we should call a "grocer" by trade, being one of the latter company; indeed, it seems clear from the lists that then, as now, persons styled as of such and such a trade, did not of necessity exercise that vocation. About fifty women, dealers in the town, close the list; among them, Dionisia Yris (Irish), Tomason Haurd, Emma Fabian, Matilde la Hupholdestre, — Mukeput, and Alice Plottere de Helle, — a name which, to say the least of it, is a very singular combination.

On the dorse of the roll is a list, first, of assessments of persons in some localities in the near vicinity. The names then follow of persons in the following localities:—Niuensham, Crawmerse, Garing, Wodecote, Ippesden, Bensintone, Prestecromers, Ewelme, Berewyk, Mungewelle, Ocle. Of the 36 names of persons given, about half are illegible.

In the roll of payments of the burgh of Wallingforde, in the nineteenth year of the reign of King Edward, in the time of William Mod . . . and Henry de Basinges, the assessments are set against most of the names, and most persons, in this instance, on payment of one-half, are "quit." It begins with twelve names of persons who pay upon their profits from corn and fish; and this, though not so expressed, may have been the case with all the opening lists of names in the pre-

ceding rolls. Richard Curteys pays 9*d.*, the largest sum, with one exception, named. As before, Alan Plukenet heads the list of butchers, charged at 4*d.* Among the Corvesers, or shoemakers, John le Dinur pays 3*d.* Four weavers follow, among them, Henry le Hattere (the hatter), paying 3*d.* Five "Ferrones," or ironmongers, come next; then bakers, Robert Doget paying as much as 9*d.* Glovers follow; among them Richard le Notare (the notary), with no sum against his name; then carpenters. No "Arconarii" appear here, and no list of "Feminæ" (women) is given; but a list of "Auxionarii" appears, including the names of 15 women (one or more of whom appear by name in the preceding roll) and 5 men. These not improbably, says Riley, were poulterers by trade, but the word "auctionarius" would seemingly mean retailer or broker. Among the men, the name of "Radulphus Scriptor" (Ralph the writer) appears. At the end of these, in a smaller hand, is added "De Waltero Felawe, pro tolneto veterum pannorum, 14*d.*" (From Walter Felawe, for toll on old clothes, 14*d.*).

Then follows a list of "Conventionarii forinseci," foreign covenanters—of Mortone, Estone (Aston), Blebire (Blewbury), Optone (Upton), Hakeburne (Hagbourne), Chauseye (Cholsey), Sottewelle, and Brithtewelle. Among them is Roger de Wycumbe, for whom W. de Maundeville is surety, and who pays 2*d.*, and is quit. Richard Sanguine has P. le Cartere for his surety, and pays 4*d.* "Matildis Herodes" has no sum against her name. On the dorse of the roll is a list of "foreign covenanters" of Nywenham (Newnham), Stokes, Garing, Wodecote, Yppesdene (Ipsden), Ewelme, Okle, and Craumersse. William le Vacher (the cowherd) has I. Tymodaye for his surety, and is quit on paying 3*d.* Richard le Rammere (breeder of rams? (Riley); rower or waterman?) pays the comparatively large sum of 12*d.* The foreign covenanters for Schylingford (Shillingford) and Dorkecestre then follow, Thomas and Stephen de Warburwe (now Warborough) appearing in the list. The roll closes with about 40 additional names, entered in another hand; among them are the somewhat singular names of "Robert Langheregawd" and "Roger Mainwrenche." In this roll the names of persons residing within the town are much fewer than in the preceding one.

The next roll consists of two long membranes, the stitch-marks at its head showing that the commencing one is lost. In its character it is like the roll mentioned before the preceding one, giving a much more lengthy list of names, and beginning in the middle of the list of shoemakers. Among the "Arconarii," William Goldeye and Hugh Godaventure are named. Among the glovers, John Ybraame is mentioned. Among the weavers, persons who derived their origin from Witney, Northampton, and Trumpington, are mentioned. The women here again form a class by themselves, Asselina Caseatrix (the cheese-wife) and Alice la Gredestre being of the number. The roll ends with a miscellaneous, but short list of names of men and women, but no "Foreign covenanters," as such, are mentioned.

The next roll of this description, a long sheet of parchment, in good condition, belongs to the year 22 and 23 Edward I. (A.D. 1295), Richard de Cyppeham and Thomas Gratarard being reeves. Among the covenanters for payments on profits from corn and fish, Robert le Cornmongere is charged the largest sum, 2 shillings; Walter Smith is charged 18*d.*; and Richard le Curteys, 12*d.* Jordan Skylli is named among the bakers, but not assessed. No women are mentioned under that title, but under the head of "Auxionarii" several are included. Among the foreign covenanters, Roger le Garlikmongere pays 6*d.*; the wife of Richard Sebrȝt (Sebright), 4*d.*; William le Doo, 12*d.*; John le Belsire, 18*d.*; Juliana the dairywoman (Daye), of Preste Crowmershe, 6*d.*; Alice la Plottere (without the addition which has been already noticed) appears among the "Auxionarii," paying 6*d.* Among the glovers are named Richard Kykaw and William Maggementel. A locality called the "Vorteye," is twice mentioned.

Some *exitus curiæ*, issues of court or fines exacted, are added at the end; among them 4*d.* from the servant (*manupasto*) of John Young, for raising the hue and cry. Walter de Dodecote (Didcot), the porter, is fined 6*d.* for trespass.

A mutilated roll follows this, much of the beginning being torn away, but enough remains to show that it belongs to the twenty—year of Edward I. Robert Hentekake is assessed as a carpenter, at 8 pence. Mary, the wife of Cutynden, is mentioned among the "Auxionarii"—the only

instance in which that Christian name has been met with. Alan Plukenet heads the list of butchers, being assessed at 6*d.*, and William de Maundevile at the like sum.

Among the miscellaneous documents of this reign the following may be noticed :—

A grant of an indulgence of thirty days to those bestowing alms upon the Hospital of St. John, at Wallingford, and the sick brethren and poor therein, by Richard Swinefeld, Bishop of Hereford, A.D. 1287. The episcopal seal appended is in fair condition in green and red wax.

A slip of parchment, being a monition in Latin, under the seal of the official of the Archdeacon of Berkshire, dated at Wallingford, on Wednesday, the 10th of the Kalends of June, 1296; commanding, under pain of the greater excommunication, that all debtors to William de Estone, of Walingeford, recently deceased, shall make a full discovery of their debts within a fortnight.

The following documents bear reference to coroners' inquests or criminal charges in the town, in this reign.

The earliest documents of this description are fifteen small written parchments, sewed together with thread.

The first in date belongs to the nineteenth year of the reign, and is in French, and to the following effect :—"That Richard de la Tre accuses William, son of Richard de la Wyke, of Walyngford, of having feloniously at midnight come to the house of said William at Walyngford, and in his solar nearest to his hall on the west side, taken Agnes, the wife of said Richard, and his goods to the value of 19 marks and 40 pence; namely, 9 marks and 40 pence in silver, and 10 marks in gold; to wit, 10 fermails (or buckles), each worth half a mark; 60 rings, each worth 2 shillings, and one ring worth 8 pence. These goods, and his said wife, he carried off feloniously by night, and at her will, and together therewith took away one gown of blue black (*pers blew*), in which his wife was attired, value one mark. Pledges to prosecute," etc.

A slip of parchment, in Latin, in 22 Edward I., stating, before William le Lorimer and Ralph de Boueye, Coroners of the burgh of Wallingford, that an inquest was held as to the escape of Geoffrey de Ryseberge from the custody of William le Botyler, under-bailiff. The 21 jurors find that he was im-

prisoned, and entered the dungeon, but "whether the said Geoffrey was taken away by said William, or was killed by him, or whether he made his escape by means of the said William, is not known, but before day William le Botyler had absented himself, and had not returned." Subsequently another jury, 15 in number, found that Geoffrey escaped at the hour of third cockcrow (*tertiū gallicantus*), through the bad keeping of William le Botyler, and that in escaping the said Geoffrey took away a grey horse, with harness, value 10*s.*, from the northern pound (*parco*).

A small slip of parchment, with the following memoranda in Latin:—"John de Canounesbrugge and Elena de la Newelonde, fled to the Church of St. Ruald, in the twenty-third year of King Edward [the First], acknowledging themselves to be thieves and robbers. They abjured the kingdom, according to the custom of the realm, and they had no goods. Nicholas le Thechere fled to the Church of St. Peter, at Walyngford, on Sunday before the Nativity of St. Mary, in the twenty-third year, acknowledging himself to be a robber. The same day he abjured, etc. He had no goods, except a surcote, which was sold for 3 pence, and handed over.

"Hugh the miller, of Mungewelle, was accused by Henry de Bakewelle, an approver, and taken by such approver, and brought to the gaol of the Castle of Wallingford, and afterwards hanged. He had chattels elsewhere to the value of 28*s.* 5*d.*, which remain in the custody of William de Cippenham."

Inquisition, in Latin, on a small strip of parchment, taken in the twenty-fifth year of the reign. "The jurors, 12 in number, say that the merchandize which belonged to Stephen de Pangeburne, whom Henry de Dene slew, and the merchandize of the same Henry, found in the house of Agnes de Makeneye, in Wallingford, were valued at ten pounds. That one-half thereof belonged to the said Henry de Dene, a felon; and that all the goods were seized by Master Henry de Tytesale, official of Berkshire, and John Fisher, dean (*decanus*) thereof, into the hands of the Archdeacon of Berkshire; who carried them off, in defiance of the prohibition of Ralph de Boueye and William le Lorimer, coroners of the king."

Inquisition in the twenty-ninth year of Edward I., giving the finding of the jury, that Henry le Mercer, of Oxford, in

bathing, got out of his depth and was drowned, the body being found in the Thames, near Wallingford, by Everard the butcher (*carnifex*). The chattels of the deceased were appraised at 3*d*.

A very small strip of parchment, in Latin, 29 Edward I., gives the finding of the jury that, as Thomas le Ferur (*farrier*) was riding in Millesshade, towards Wallingford, some robbers came upon him, and struck him with an arrow on the head, on the fourth day after which he died at Wallingford. The aforesaid robbers stealthily escaped towards the wood of Swynecumbe.

A small parchment sets forth that Sybil le Clerekes fled to the Church of St. Michael, in Wallingford, in the 30th of Edward I., and acknowledged, before Ralph de Boueye, the coroner, that she had stolen, at Abingdon, a hood furred with menyver, value 2*s*. 6*d*., the property of Matilda le Barber, and other small robberies. On Wednesday, the day after, before the same coroner, she abjured the realm of England, and had Bristol for her port (to sail from). She had no goods, for the produce of her thefts had been sold before she fled to the church.

Record of an inquest, 30 Edward I., as to the death of Reginald de Stable (*de Stabul*), upon whom a cart fell and broke his foot, from which he died. For deodand the cart and steers were appraised at half a mark.

Inquisition made before Ralph de Boueye and Robert Boyloun, the coroners, in the parish of St. Peter, Walyngford, 31 Edward I., as to the death of Peter le Boltere. The jurors, 12 in number, "of the 4 wards of the burgh aforesaid," find that while taking down a mud wall, the wall fell upon him, and crushed him to death. Another inquest, being held "for the king" as to the same death, the jurors (another set) find to the same effect.

Inquisition before the above coroner, 32 Edward I. The jurors, 12 in number, find that Thomas de Ildesleghe, after sunset, came to the house of Roger de Blebyre, in the said town, and while he was buying one farthing's worth of lard, there came one William de Dunrugge, mercer, and assaulted him, and struck him in the kidneys with a knife, the wound being 8 inches long and 12 inches (*sic*) in depth; from which wound he languished till the Sunday following, and then

died. The said William thereon fled, and stealthily escaped, and the person wounded did not raise the hue.

The above and other inquisitions are recorded on parchment, some on mere strips, others larger, and most of them finely written.

We will now give a few extracts from the deeds, which are found in the corporation chest in considerable numbers. They were executed by the inhabitants of the town or its vicinity, and probably deposited with the common clerks of Wallingford for safe custody. These deeds are mostly in good condition, although the seals on them are in many instances lost, and, where preserved, are frequently in an imperfect state. It will be observed that several parishes and parish churches are referred to therein.

A small parchment deed, without date, but *temp.* Edward I., whereby Thomas Saleman, of Walingeforde, grants to the alderman and gildans of the vill of Walingeforde 6 pence of yearly rent from the corner messuage, which belonged to his father, in the parish of St. Michael; they having granted him admission to the freedom (*ingressum libertatis*) of Walingeforde. Witnesses, Sir Walter de Huntercumbe, Sir Hugh Druval, knights, John de Mandevile, William de Mackeneye, Manser de Sandreville, Roger de Sottewell, John le Paneter, "and others."

Another deed, executed by Roger Barat, grants to the alderman of the gild and the gildans 4 pence of yearly rent from a tenement in the parish of Holy Trinity; they having granted him admission to the freedom.

Symon White [Albus] grants to Thomas Sauare (? Sawyer) his right to one penny of rent from a tenement formerly belonging to Ernilda, in the parish of the Holy Trinity, for 10 pence paid beforehand. Witnesses, Alexander de Stalles, mayor, and others.

A parchment deed, in Latin, whereby Christine Joes testifies, making oath and touching the Holy Gospels, that she has spontaneously bound herself to Sir Ralph the chaplain, Master of the Hospital of St. John the Baptist, at Wallingford, and the brethren and sisters thereof, to give the fullest security for the peaceful holding by them of three acres of land, which they had from William Joye (*sic*), her husband. "So, namely, that I may be excommunicated from day to day,

and denounced as excommunicated, through the whole deanery of Henle, if I shall in any way presume to contravene the said gift. And if any one for me, or on account of me, shall presume to come to gainsay the said gift, in no way let him be heard. And if of this I shall be convicted, I will give to the Lord Archdeacon of Oxford for the time being, for breaking my vow, and for my perjury, 20 shillings sterling, and to the said Ralph, the brethren and sisters, 20 shillings, for such unjust vexation, renouncing the royal prohibition, and all right of remedy, civil or canonical. Witnesses, Alexander de Stalles, William Blawe, Nycholas Chindut, Walter de Cross, John, son of Hubert de Hetfeld, Stephen de Stalles, Geoffrey English, Richard Morin, Richard Symeone, clerk, and others."

A small parchment deed, whereby John Dublet grants to the said hospital his right in five acres of cultivated land, and the third part of the meadow of Chalmore, which Matildis his stepmother received as dower after his father's decease, situate in the fields of Porthmannefeld and Chalmore. Witnessed by Richard de Brithwaltone, mayor, and eight others named, "with the whole Portmote."

A grant to the said hospital of 11 shillings of silver, rent of assize to be received from two messuages in the parish of the lesser Church of St. Mary, on condition that the brethren and sisters thereof, on the octave of the Apostles Peter and Paul, should yearly celebrate the anniversary of Richard de Bristwaltone, in the chapel of the said hospital.

Among other deeds in this reign are grants by Robert, son of Adam de Cukesham, of his right in certain tenements in the parish of St. Martin, in Walingeford, "for one clove of garlic, to be paid at the Feast of St. Michael, upon the said messuago," 40 shillings sterling having been paid beforehand.

By Geoffrey de Walingeford, clerk, to Walter called "Le Justice," of a yearly rent of 6 pence of silver from a tenement in Canecroftestrete, in the parish of the Holy Trinity, rendering to the grantor two cloves yearly.

By Peter, son and heir of Adam le Cordewaner, of a seld, lying between two other selds therein described, in the parish of the greater Church of St. Mary.

By Thomas, son of the Clerk of Craumerse, to Robert le

Tanur, of Walingeford, for his homage and service, one acre of cultivated land in the plain of Craumerse.

By Stephen de Stalles, of Walingeford, to the aldermen of the gild of Walingeforde and the other gildans of the same vill, all his interest in 12 pence rent of assize out of a messuage in the parish of St. Peter, he having received 10 shillings beforehand.

By Robert le Prechur and Marioria his wife, of part of a curtilage in the parish of St. Martin, near Deneslane, rendering one silver penny yearly on the Feast of St. Michael.

By John de Pulham, "Taverner," to John de Luches, mayor, and the community of Walingeford, for having freedom of the gild for life, 6 pence of rent of assize yearly from a messuage in the parish of All Saints. Witnessed by Sir Henry de Sottesbroke, then Seneschal (steward) of the honour of Walingeford, and others.

By Walter, son of Symon Vergeley, of 18 pence of yearly rent, "from the messuage where Richard, Chaplain of St. Martin's, used to dwell, situate in the churchyard of St. Martin, at Walingeford." Witnessed by the Lord Prior of Walingeford, and others.

By John Huberd, of Walingeford, "to the leprous brethren and sisters of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalen, of Crawmersse, in pure and perpetual alms, for his soul and for the souls of his father and mother, and of his predecessors and successors," of one acre in the north field (*campo*) of Nyweham.

By Roger Baret, of Walingeford, to Henry called "Le Muntfort," of Walingeford, of a tenement in the parish of Holy Trinity, extending southward to the ditch called "Ervenevordedych."

By John Hyne to Robert de Turnestone, chaplain, the yearly rent of 2s. 6d., which he was wont to receive from William de Aultone, weaver, in the parish of St. Ruald.

By Davor de Saint Valery, with the assent of Sir William de Brens', his brother, to Henry his son, for his homage and service, ten pounds of land which he had in free marriage, in Old Sorham, namely, 100 acres of demesne, three virgates of land, one hide and a half of land, and one other virgate of land; he rendering yearly one red sparrow-hawk for all service.

The deeds above referred to are without date. To one of

them is attached a fine oblong seal, in green wax, with a floriated cross, headed by a lily, with the legend, "S. Cecil Relete Petri Peakoc," the seal of Cecily, relict of Peter Peakoc. This name occurs elsewhere, as mayor, *temp.* Henry III.

In the following deeds the dates are given :—

9 Edward I. A parchment indenture, whereby the Master, brethren, and sisters of the Hospital of St. John granted to Eustace . . . a certain tenement, he rendering yearly to the Church of the Holy Trinity, of Walingeford, for support of the light before the Holy Cross, 4 pennies of silver, and giving in exchange part of a tenement in Canecroft in the same parish of Holy Trinity.

10 Edward I. Grant, minutely written, of a tenement in the parish of Holy Trinity, which was given to Dionisia, the grantor's mother, "in free marriage at the church door."

10 Edward I. Deed of covenant, referring to a corner messuage on the north side of the lane leading to the Church of St. Michael, in that parish, and also referring to another messuage on the south side of the burial-ground of the Hospital of St. John in the parish of St. Ruald, and stipulating that, if the owners shall wish to sell, the said brethren and sisters "shall be nearest in the market and sale."

18 Edward I. Grant by Bartholomew de Schireburne to Thomas Hitone, of Chauseye, Mayor of Walyngeforde, William de la Wike, Ralph Boueye, John Orfeure, aldermen and the gildans of the burgh of Walyngeford, for 2 marks sterling paid, of the tenement situate between the south gate to the east of it and the town foss, in the parish of St. Leonard, at a yearly rent of one penny; the grantor agreeing to warrant and acquit the same against all men and women, as well Christians as Jews. Witnesses, Sir John de Dykeby, Seneschal of the honour of Walyngeford, Edmond de Wedonc, Constable of the Castle of Walyngeford, William Waco, Thomas de Park, knights, and several others.

20 Edward I. A large parchment deed, being the grant of a tenement, with a gate and a cottage, situate "in the smaller parish of the Blessed Mary, of Walyngeford," and extending from the street where the fish-market stands, towards the house of William de la Wike. Witnessed by Thomas de Chausey, clerk, then mayor, and others.

21 Edward I. Deed whereby Henry le Munfort, of Walyngeford, weaver, and Agnes his wife grant to the Hospital of St. John a tenement in the parish of St. Peter, between the tenements of Andrew le Buteler and Matthew Orfeure, at a yearly rent to the heirs of Sir Peter de la Mare of five silver pennies and of one penny to the grantors. For this grant the master, brethren, and sisters have demised to them a corner messuage, situate in the corn-market of Walyngeford, near the house of Robert de Wympelwelle, for the term of their lives. Witnesses, Thomas Hyton, of Chauseye, mayor, and others named, "with the whole Portmote," holden on the day above mentioned,

24 Edward I. A small parchment indenture, whereby Thomas de Chausey, mayor, William Moryn, Nicholas atte Barre, Ralph de Boneye, aldermen, and the whole community, grant to Osbert de Notlee, and Agnes his wife, their heirs and assigns, "for the great labour which the said Osbert has undertaken to sustain for us in the Parliament of the lord the king, to be holden at St. Edmund's, on the morrow of All Souls," a certain lane, without the door of his hall, to be appropriated, in exchange for another lane which he has transferred to them, by the side of the other, "and of as great convenience or greater to us and our successors."

There is also a grant to the same Osbert and Agnes of a little corner place at the east end of their common place of Canecrofte, in exchange, etc.

26 Edward I. Grant to the mayor and community of the burgh, 6 pence of yearly rent, from the tenement which belonged to William Chaumflur, in the parish of Saint Mary de Stalles, extending to the east of the street called "Wodestrete," in return for the freedom granted to Reginald Bradeburne, butcher, and for half a mark of silver.

A.D. 1300. A grant of arable land to Dame (*Dominæ*) Margaret Henteloue, "recluse of the Church of St. Ruald, in Walyngeford," the said land lying between the churchyard of St. Ruald and Bruttestrete.

28 Edward I. A parchment deed, the large round seal, in green and white wax, in fine condition, being that of the borough of Wallingford, representing a knight in mail armour, on horseback, wielding a sword, the horse's mane plaited. By it the mayor, aldermen, and community of the

vill grant in pure and perpetual alms to the work of the burgh of Walyngford, for the support thereof, the tenement which belonged to Nicholas Bagie, situate in the lane called "Yrlondes lane," in the parish of St. John, in Walyngford, and extending northward to the lane called "Hynes lane," the conservators thereof rendering to the heirs of William Aleyn, the services due and accustomed for the same, "for all things." Witnesses, Simon de Grenhulle, then Seneschal of the honour of Walyngford, Walter de Tapelewe, then Constable of the Castle, and many others, seven of whom are named.

31 Edward I. A grant to William Dyer, of Walyngford, for 40 shillings of silver paid, of certain cottages and land in the parish of St. Leonard, between the tenements of the Hospital of St. John, and of Richard de Louches.

34 Edward I. A grant by Alice de Herde, relict of John de Dorkecestre, to John de Horspath and Matildis his wife, of a house and curtilage situate in the parish of St. Ruald, in Walyngford, without the south gate.

34 Edward I. Grant by Agnes, relict of Roger Sckyppe, "in her pure and lawful widowhood," to the Hospital of St. John, of her right in the messuage situate in the parish of St. Lucian, in Walyngford.

34 Edward I. Deed, with an oval seal in green wax, with a lily for device, and for legend, "S. Henrici Rotarii" (seal of Henry Wheeler), whereby he grants to the said hospital all his right in a messuage in the greater parish of St. Mary, near the lane called "Edmundes lane."

35 Edward I. Grant, with a small oval seal in green wax, a lily for device, with legend, "S. Thome le Noble" (seal of Thomas le Noble), of 3 shillings yearly rent to the said hospital, issuing out of a messuage in the parish of the greater Church of St. Mary.

Most of the foregoing documents were witnessed by the mayor of the town, and other inhabitants, and frequently at the Ward, or Portmote. They show that the surnames of the parties to them were almost invariably connected, either with some trade or calling, or the place of dwelling. Thus we may trace the origin of many surnames that are common among us at the present day. The more curious surnames quoted in the earlier part of this chapter have almost entirely disappeared. As to Christian names, these records afford but little infor-

mation; it would seem these names were generally given to children by or in honour of their sponsors, or of saints, irrespective of sex. A case is mentioned in the "*Calendarium Genealogicum*," 28 Edward I., of a grandfather sponsor, who, being prevented by illness from attending the baptism, sent special instructions that his own name should be given to the child, "whether it was male or female," and this custom may account for so many names having been used for both sexes, by merely changing the termination.

A.D. 1307, 1 Edward II. Edward of Carnarvon, so named from the place of his birth, began his reign on the 7th of July, 1307, and within a month of his coming to the throne he granted, in fee,* the whole duchy of Cornwall, with the Castle, town, and honour of Wallingford, and the manors of Watlington and Bensington, the honour of St. Valery, and all the other lands which Edmund, Earl of Cornwall, held at the time of his death, to his unfortunate favourite, Piers de Gaveston, whom he made Baron of Wallingford and afterwards Earl of Cornwall. Gaveston had been banished in the previous reign, and the late king had enjoined Henry Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, not to permit him to return into England; but the first object of Edward II. was to secure his recall and load him with honours. He was made lord chamberlain, affianced to the king's niece, and when Edward prepared to sail for France, to meet his bride, Isabella the Fair, he appointed him regent of the kingdom, with powers almost unrestricted. Soon after the royal grant had been made to him, Gaveston obtained a precept† from the king to John de Clinton, for livery of the Castle, town, and honour of Wallingford, the honour of St. Valery, and the "city of Cicester;" and to John de Knockyn, for livery of the manor of Watlington.

The banishment of Gaveston was principally due to Walter de Langton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and Lord Treasurer of England; and now it would seem, as a mark of the royal displeasure at the part the bishop had taken, the

* The grant is set out at length in Rymer, vol. iii. p. 1.

† Rot. Orig. Abbreviatio, vol. i. p. 159; Lingard, vol. ii. p. 3; Dugdale, "*The Baronage of England*," tom. ii. p. 42; Wm. Dugdale, MS., B. i. p. 142.

king caused him to be arrested by Sir John Felton, Constable of the Tower of London, and sent to Wallingford, there to be kept a prisoner, and his goods to be confiscated and given to Gaveston. After a long confinement, the threats of the pope secured his liberation. Thus the king bestowed on his favourite the highest favours, which seem to have been purchased by ministering to the voluptuous pleasures and riotous excesses of his royal master. Piers, says Ralph Brooke, York Herald, "furnished the court with jesters, ruffians, flattering parasites, and other vile and naughtier rybolds, that the king might spend both days and nights in jesting, playing, banqueting, and other such dishonourable exercises."

The extravagant favours and honours bestowed on Gaveston, coupled with his haughty and imperious conduct, excited the displeasure of the English nobles, who, in a Parliament in London, prevailed on the king to banish him from the country; an engagement which was met by making him Viceroy of Ireland. Soon, however, he was recalled, and on his return, he proclaimed * a great tournament to be kept near his Castle of Wallingford, to celebrate the event of the grant to him by Edward II. of that fortress. The tournament gave mortal offence; and it was at this grand gathering that the seeds were sown of a fearful day of reckoning. "The magnificence of his retinue," says Miss Strickland,† "and the great number of foreigners by whom he was surrounded, served to increase the jealous displeasure of the barons. Gaveston, according to his old practice, indulged in scornful raillery, and on this occasion bestowed provoking sobriquets on the leaders of the feud against him. The Earl of Pembroke, who was dark, thin, and sallow-complexioned, he called 'Joseph the Jew;' the Earl of Warwick, who foamed at the mouth when angry, 'The Wild Boar of Ardenne;' and the Earl of Lancaster, from his affecting a picturesque style of dress, 'The Stage-player;' ‡ and in like manner characterized the rest of the party, either from their peculiarities or defects. These insults had the effect of stirring up such a storm in the court, that the queen, her uncle, the Earl of Lancaster, and all the baronage of England,

* Thomas Walsingham, sub ann.

† Vol. ii. p. 216.

‡ Thomas Walsingham.

made common cause against Gaveston, and Edward was obliged to dismiss him to Guienne; but at parting he lavished on him all the jewels, rings, and other trinkets which his young consort had at various times presented to him as tokens of regard, which greatly increased her feelings of resentment."

A.D. 1308. The inquisition of which the following is a copy, shows what large sums were expended in repairing and strengthening the Castle, and what was required for maintaining it in a proper state. Reckoning the difference in the value of money, two thousand marks, at 13s. 4d. per mark, would represent a very considerable amount of our present money. The reference to the mills is also interesting, as explaining the origin of the irregularities and depressions which are now to be seen in the meadow called the Queen's Arbour, being the meadow on the east of the Castle ditch, extending down to the river. The course of the side streams that worked these mills is clearly traceable, the water in the Thames having been kept up by the "Old Lock," of which some of the piles still remain:—

"EXCHEQUER. SPECIAL COMMISSIONS (QUEEN'S REMR.),
2 EDWARD II., No. 818-3.

"Inquisition taken before John de Foxle and William Merre, whom the same John associated with him, on Tuesday next before the Feast of St. Michael, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Second, by Richard Wyz, Richard de Louches, Henry de Horspath, Thomas le Noble, Stephen le Mareschal, Walter de Den, Nicholas de la Barr, Thomas de Horspath, Robert le Ayul, Alexander le Gather, Gilbert de Maundevill, and John de Horspath, jurors; who say upon their oath that the lord the king hath in Walyngford a certain Castle, which was in the custody of Walter de Aylesbyr, from the thirtieth year of the reign of King Edward, father of the present king, until Sunday next before the Feast of the Decollation of Saint John the Baptist, in the first year of the present king. And that the same Walter laid out in the repairs of the aforesaid Castle, about two hundred pounds; but they cannot fully ascertain until certified by the surveyors of works of the same Castle. They say also that John de Croukyn had the custody of the aforesaid

Castle from the said Sunday until Saturday next before the Feast of Saint Peter *in cathedra* next following, and expended nothing there in repairing or strengthening of the same Castle. They say also that from the same Saturday, John de Clynton had the custody of the same Castle until now, and that he expended in strengthening and repairing of the same, one hundred marks. And they say that the same Castle cannot be maintained in a sufficient state for a less sum than two thousand marks. Also they say that our lord the king hath there two water-mills, with four multures,* and they are worth yearly, if they were repaired, ten marks. But they say that the houses of the same mills are thrown down, and that the same mills, with the pools to the same, cannot be repaired and well upheld for a less sum than forty pounds. They say also that the lord the king receives yearly for the farm of the said borough, forty pounds, to wit, one moiety at the Feast of Saint Michael, and the other moiety at the Feast of Easter, by the hands of the bailiffs of the same borough. Also the lord the king takes by the hands of the same at the same terms yearly, forty white shillings. They say also that Walter de Langeton, Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, and the Master and Brethren of the Knights Templars in England, hold nothing in the aforesaid borough, nor held anything when the lands and tenements, goods and chattels, of the same bishop and brethren, for certain causes, were taken into the hands of our lord the king. They say also that of the prisage of victuals, carriage, and other things done to the use of the lord the king the father, or of the present king, cannot be truly ascertained until more fully certified. Also, in what manner the assessors and collectors of the twentieth and fifteenth acted in the taxation and levy of the same, cannot yet be certified, until more fully it shall be inquired into. In witness whereof the said jurors have placed their seals to this inquisition. Dated at Walyngford, the day and year abovesaid."

A.D. 1310. Gaveston, having married Margaret, second sister and co-heir to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, had again the earldom of Cornwall, with Wallingford, and all the honours and lands of Edmund, late Earl of Cornwall,† granted

* Tolls.

† Kennett, vol. i. p. 511.

to him and Margaret his wife, and to their heirs, by indentures * dated August 4, 3 Edward II., upon which he obtained several precepts to sundry persons, to make livery unto him of the lordships and lands thereto belonging.

A.D. 1312. In this year, the king recalled Gaveston and made him principal minister, a promotion that set free the pent-up vengeance of the malcontent barons. Headed by the Earl of Lancaster, they took up arms against the sovereign, who, having left his favourite in the strong fortress of Scarborough, commanding the garrison of that castle to receive and protect him, proceeded to levy forces in the midland Counties for his defence. The men of the north rose *en masse* to storm the fortress, and Gaveston, being destitute of provisions and the means of standing a siege, surrendered to the confederate nobles. The king, on hearing of the surrender, desired the liberty to speak with his favourite, and urged that his life might be spared—a request with which the Earl of Pembroke, to whom the rest of the barons had committed the custody of the prisoner, was disposed to comply. The earl undertook to deliver him to them after the interview; and it was arranged that he should be brought to the Castle of Wallingford, whither the king had repaired. The earl, on his way to Wallingford, left his prisoner at Deddington, Oxon, in charge of some of his guards, while he went to lodge with his lady in an adjoining village at his manor of Marsh.† Guy de Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, having received intelligence of this slender guard, and being Gaveston's implacable enemy, came the same night, with a large force, and carried him away to his castle of Warwick, where, after a consultation (a sort of sham trial, according to some) whether they should convey him to the king at Wallingford, or put him to death, resolved upon the latter, and in the barbarous and lawless spirit of the time, he was hurried away to Blacklow Hill, near Guy's Cliff, and there beheaded on the 19th of January. The spot, in memory of the tragedy committed there, is called Gaveshead.‡

Many of the peers who were concerned in the death of Piers de Gaveston were obliged, for that offence, to purchase

* Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. xxxv. fol. 23.

† Kennett.

‡ Authorities: Walsingham; Rymer's "Fœdera;" Capgrave's Chronicle; Dugdale, "The Baronage of England;" Strickland; "Pictorial History of England."

their pardon from the king for large sums of money. The most active agent, the Earl of Warwick, died suddenly in 1312, soon after the birth of the long-desired heir of England, afterwards Edward III., whom Isabella, in the eighteenth year of her age and the fifth of her marriage, brought into the world.

A.D. 1314-15. The gaol for the county of Berks was in ancient times at Wallingford, from whence it was removed, by charter of Edward I., to Windsor. In the Parliament holden this year, the inhabitants of the county presented a petition to the king, praying for its removal, and after stating that Windsor was too remote, and too small for providing victuals for the support of its inmates, it proceeds thus: "Another point is, the commonalty of the town of Windsor is so weak that the gaol cannot be sustained by the alms of the town, whereby the prisoners die immediately, as well the innocent as the guilty, and those who have goods die before judgment is given, so that the king loses the goods and chattels of the felons, to the great damage of the Crown. . . . Another point is, if any great felon be indicted in the county, and taken and sent to Windsor, he is released for money, wherefore the good people of the county have feared to indict those, on whom justice is not done in due manner. The said gaol used to be at Wallingford, in the custody of the sheriff, to the great profit of the king and his Crown. Whereof they pray, if it please him, that a remedy may be granted them." *

An inquiry was instituted by a committee, but the proceedings do not appear. Ultimately the gaol was transferred from Windsor to Reading, where it still remains, and has now assumed the character of a model prison. Up to about the year 1870, there was another county gaol, at Abingdon, which, after a long contention, lasting several years, was discontinued, as subjecting the county to an unnecessary expense.

In A.D. 1316, the town was visited by a fearful pestilence. A great number of deaths took place in the gaol in the Castle; no less than twenty-eight inquests were held there in a little over two months, as appears by the inquisitions, *post*, p. 384.

Upon the death of Gaveston (A.D. 1312-13), the Castle and honour of Wallingford, with the barony of St. Valery and other possessions, reverted to the Crown, together with the earldom of Cornwall, and the king immediately granted these posses-

* Rot. Parl., vol. i. p. 300.

sions to Hugh Despenser the younger; so that Wallingford became the property of two of his favourites in quick succession. The stewardship of the honour was granted to Edmund Bacun, whose appointment was renewed by a subsequent writ to hold during pleasure.*

On the 22nd of April, 1317, the king gave to Isabella his queen, the Castle and honour for her life. In the grant † was included, as belonging to the honour, the manors of Burcester and Ambrosden, and the honour of St. Valery. It does not appear what became of the grant to Despenser. His attainder, which the barons forced on the king, took place three years after the queen seems to have obtained possession.

A.D. 1320. The king's attachment towards the younger Despenser excited the envy of the Earl of Lancaster and other nobles, who, regarding him as their rival, planned his ruin.‡ They raised a formidable army, and demanded of the king the banishment, not only of the son, but of Despenser the father, who also stood high in the royal favour, but who, according to Walsingham, had gone into exile. On the king refusing to condemn absent noblemen who were accused of no crime, the barons, by a show of violence, procured a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against them; and although it is said that the Castle fell into the hands of the barons, there is nothing to warrant the belief that the queen had been dispossessed of it at this time.

A singular circumstance enabled the king to resume the authority he had lost.

The queen, in returning from Canterbury, where she had been to perform her devotions at the shrine of Thomas à Becket, despatched some of her attendants to the castle of Leeds, in Kent (which belonged to the Lord Badlesmere),§ to signify her pleasure to rest there for a night on her journey towards London; but her admission was refused, and some of her servants were killed as they presented themselves at the gates. This insult excited general indignation, and enabled the king to raise an army superior to that of the barons, with

* Orig. Rot., 11, abbreviated, vol. i. pp. 186-189.

† W. Dugdale, MS., vol. C; Kennett, vol. i. p. 538; Lysons' "Magna Britannia," p. 395.

‡ Walsingham, p. 113.

§ Hume, vol. ii. p. 99.

which he besieged and took the castle of Leeds, and having hanged the governor and other officers of the garrison, and sent Lady Badlesmere and some of her family as prisoners to the Tower, he marched to Cirencester, where other forces joined him, and thence to the borders of Wales, to take vengeance on the barons. He fell upon them before they were prepared for resistance, and several were captured, while others surrendered, and were conducted, some to the Tower of London, and others to the Castle of Wallingford. Another action took place soon afterwards near Burton-on-Trent, where the rebels were again dispersed, and Lancaster, being taken prisoner,* was beheaded near Pomfret.† According to Walsingham, he took to flight on seeing the king's forces, and afterwards capitulated. In Leland's "Collectanea,"‡ it is stated that, "on the death of the Earl of Lancaster, the Castle of Wallingford surrendered to the king, wherein were taken Sir John Godlington or Gomelton, chevalier, Sir Edmond Roche [Beche], parson, and Hogeikin Walton, esquire, all of whom were sent to Pontefract, and soon afterwards drawn and hanged at York for high treason."

This appears to be an incorrect version of an attempt, partially successful, of a party of conspirators, headed by Sir John Godlington, to take the Castle, which had not fallen into the hands of the rebels. A more reliable account may be gathered from what follows.

Roche is probably a misprint for Beche, who, according to Carte and others, was engaged in the surprise of the governor and guards. This Edmond belonged to the family of the De la Beches, of Aldworth, near Wallingford, whose monuments in the church there are objects of so much interest. Although called Clericus, and appointed to the archdeaconry of Berks, he afterwards held, with others, the keepership of the Isle of Wight, and appears to have been more of a soldier than an ecclesiastic, and to have died a natural death, A.D. 1365.§

* Hume, p. 100.

† "He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade, without a bridle; a hood was put upon his head; and in this posture, attended by the acclamations of the people, this prince of the blood was conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own castles, and was there beheaded." — *Ibid.*, p. 101.

‡ Vol. i. p. 666.

§ "The Fourteenth Century Monuments in Aldworth Church."

The following extract * from Capgrave's "Chronicle of England" refers to the success of the king, and to the prisoners sent to Wallingford Castle:—

"In the xiiii. yere of this kyng, he gadered a grete hoost, purposing to be venged on the barnes [barons]. That herd the too Mortimeres, and come and zold hem to the kyng; but thei fel not in swech grace as thei supposed; for the kyng commanded hem to the Tour tyl the tyme he schuld beavyssed what he schuld do with hem. Than took the kyng Sere Hewe Haudle the elder [Hugh Audley] and Sere Mauris Berkle [Maurice Berkley], and sent hem to the Castelle of Walyngforth. Othir lordis he cacchid or caute with fayre wordes, and sent hem to dyvers holdis."

According to the "Fœdera," † other prisoners were sent to the Castle of Wallingford, besides the two named.

Among those committed to the Tower were the two Lords Mortimer, as mentioned by the chronicler, uncle and nephew. They were sentenced ‡ to death, and their large estates were confiscated. The uncle died of famine, through the neglect or cruelty of his gaolers. He was the son and heir of Maud, who contrived the escape of Prince Edward. The younger Mortimer (who was also named Roger) obtained a reprieve, probably through the intercession of the queen, and his sentence of death was commuted into perpetual imprisonment in the Tower. In the succeeding year, A.D. 1323, 16 and 17 Edward II., when under this sentence, this border chief organized a plot § for the seizure, not only of the royal fortress in which he was confined, but also of those of Windsor and Wallingford, which was carried into effect as regards the latter. The conspirators, however, failed in their attempt; the whole scheme was frustrated, and Mortimer was condemned to suffer death for high treason; but through the agency of Adam Orleton and Beck, Bishop of Durham, he obtained a respite, || and soon became the perpetrator of greater crimes. In order to effect his escape ¶ from the Tower, he invited the constable and other officers to a banquet, and made them intoxicated by

* Page 189. † Vol. ii. pt. i. p. 457.

‡ Walsingham; Strickland, p. 233.

§ Rot. Pat., 17, Edward II., p. 1, m. 11.

|| Leland's "Collectanea."

¶ Bailey's "History of the Tower," vol. ii. p. 291.

causing some drug to be secretly mixed in their drink. Through a hole he had worked in his own dungeon, he passed into the kitchen of the royal residence, ascended the chimney, got on the roof of the palace, and from thence to the Thames side by a ladder of ropes, and escaped safely into France, where, at Paris, he was joined by the queen and other traitors.

According to Holinshed, Thomas Walsingham, and other authorities,* the following plan was adopted for the seizure of Wallingford Castle. After Christmas, at the instance of Mortimer, a conspiracy was formed among the followers of the late Earl of Lancaster and the barons, to release in one night all persons who had been committed to prison on the occasion of the king's seizing the estate of Alicia, widow of the Earl of Lancaster, for marrying another husband without his consent. A party of these conspirators, suddenly taking up arms, marched to Wallingford, headed by Sir John Gold-rington and Sir Edward [Edmond] de la Beche, a priest (being probably the same person who was afterwards Arch-deacon of Berkshire), for the purpose of releasing Maurice Lord Berkeley, and Hugh Lord Audley, Lord of the manor of Stratton Audley, who were partisans of the earl, and had been committed prisoners to this Castle as before stated. By the connivance of the governor, the conspirators procured admission by a postern gate near the Thames, and kept possession of the fortress for the barons, but the attempt to release the prisoners was frustrated, and Sir Edmond de la Beche was sent a prisoner to Pomfret Castle. Upon the alarm being given, the king sent orders to Sir Richard d'Amory, Lord of the manor of Bucknell, and steward of the king's household, who was then in Lincolnshire, to come with his forces to the Castle of Wallingford, and expel the intruders. He arrived in the following year, besieged the Castle, which was still in the hands of the king's enemies, and succeeded in getting possession. For this service he received from the master of the wardrobe, for the expenses of himself and retinue, from the 24th of January (at which time he received his orders) to the 29th day of that month, during which time he stayed for the coming of his men, 117 shillings; and afterwards for nineteen men-at-arms, of which three were knights, from the 30th day of January to the 15th of March, computing thirty-five days,

* Kennett, vol. i. p. 562; Lysons' "Berks," p. 395.

during which he continued his stay partly in besieging the Castle, and partly in defence of it, after the expulsion of the king's enemies, £45 10*s.*, at 4*s.* per diem for himself, 2*s.* for each knight, and 12*d.* for every common soldier, in all £51 7*s.*, as appears by the account of Roger de Waltham, master of the king's wardrobe.*

Lord Audley made his escape from the Castle, and was soon after received into the king's favour by the interest of his son's wife, widow of Piers de Gaveston. Maurice, Lord Berkeley, continued a prisoner at Wallingford till his death, which happened in 1326.†

As soon as Lord Mortimer had safely reached the French capital, the queen began her insidious attacks upon the two Despensers, who, like Gaveston, had obtained great influence over the mind of the king, and who had advised him to curtail her revenues, and deprive her of certain possessions, which, with the Castle and honour of Wallingford, had been granted to her for life. And now passing over some two years, during which the clandestine and traitorous proceedings of the queen, and her shameless intimacy with Roger Mortimer, culminated in open rebellion, we come to the time when the startling intelligence of the landing of the queen's armament in her projected invasion of England, reached the king.‡ He was paralyzed, says Miss Strickland,§ "and instead of taking measures for defence, he sat down to write pathetic letters to the pope, and the King of France, entreating their succour or interference. He then issued a proclamation, proscribing the persons of all those who had taken arms against him, with the exception of Queen Isabella, the prince her son, and his brother, the Earl of Kent. It is dated September 28, 1326, and in it he offers a thousand pounds for the head of the arch-traitor, Roger Mortimer. The queen, however, not to be outdone, immediately published a reward of double that sum for the head of the younger Despenser, in her manifesto from Wallingford,|| wherein she sets forth that her motives in

* Roger Dodsworth, MS., vol. xxxv. p. 126; Kennett, vol. i. p. 562.

† Dugdale, "The Baronage of England."

‡ Froissart's Chronicle.

§ Vol. ii. pp. 260, 261.

|| It is stated in Leland's "Collectanea," that, on the success of the king's party, after the death of the Earl of Lancaster, the Castle of Wallingford came into the possession of the younger Despenser. This is not borne out by the above manifesto.

coming are to deliver the kingdom from the misleaders of the king.*

The king, attended by the Despensers and others of his adherents, fled to Bristol, and there shut themselves up in the castle, which the queen successfully besieged, and Sir Hugh Despenser the elder was delivered up to her, and at ninety years of age was speedily executed in sight of his son and the king, who were still safe in the castle. The son soon after shared the same fate, after having been subjected to fearful persecution, and on his death the queen conferred the Castle of Wallingford on her paramour, the Lord Mortimer. The sovereign was removed to Kenilworth. The execution of the elder Despenser took place in October, 1326, and at Christmas following, the queen held a royal feast at Wallingford ("ryall Christmasse," as it is called by Capgrave†), at which she entertained in great state the Archbishops of Canterbury and York; the Bishops of Winchester (who was treasurer), of Norwich (chancellor), and of Lincoln, Ely, Coventry, and Hereford; and a large company of knights and barons; Prince Edward being present. What the design (if any) of the queen was in thus assembling the magnates of the land, while her unfortunate husband was a prisoner at Kenilworth, is not stated; but very soon after the feast, these dignitaries went to London to attend the Parliament, and there it was "concluded by all the lords, that the king was insufficient to govern the people, whereupon they choose the Prince of Wales to be king, and proclaimed it openly in the hall of Westminster, and all the people consented thereto;" but the prince made a vow that he would never take the crown without his father's consent. We are told by some historians that the queen experienced great sorrow by reason of the decision of her late guests and the other nobles in Parliament; but it would rather seem that any appearance of sorrow was due to her characteristic hypocrisy.

The abdication of the king, the proclaiming of the Prince of Wales as his successor, in January, 1327, and (at the instance of the queen) the appointment of Roger Mortimer as chief minister, quickly followed; and a few months afterwards—in September, 1327—the king was brutally murdered at Berkeley Castle. The queen and her ferocious paramour,

* "Fœdera."

† "Chronicles of England," p. 197; Lysons.

who were supposed to be implicated, were hardly able to escape the vengeance of the people.

During this turbulent period, namely, in 1326, William le Mareschal had the custody of Wallingford Castle, and a writ* confirming his authority recites the king's confidence in his fidelity, but makes no mention of the honour of Wallingford.

Although we are told† that the fortress of Wallingford bore a conspicuous part in the civil war between Edward II. and his nobles, I have failed to trace the particulars of any actual conflict in or near the Castle, except what is before mentioned.

The corporation chest furnishes many documents in this reign, most of which Riley has translated. The Prior of Wallingford not unfrequently appears in the Burghmote rolls as plaintiff in actions of debt. Gilbert Orfeure, or Goldsmith, for example, is summoned by the prior in a plea of detainer of chattels. On non-appearance, he is distrained "by two hammers," and still not appearing, he is ordered to be distrained "from day to day." One of the entries in the rolls is headed "Court of Piepowder," and the sole subject discussed before the court was the alleged detainer of one horse.

Thomas de Schiptone makes plaint, by his attorney, against John Waps, of Chebseye, for withholding two fish weels ("*nassas*," explained by "*kydeles*," written above it), value 10*d.*, which he engaged to make by a certain day. Damage, 3*d.*, which he recovered, "for the unjust detainer."

Osbert le Feror (the farrier) puts himself at the mercy of the court, because he made himself out to be a bailiff, and detained a tunic belonging to Margaret de Culnham, his maidservant.

Minutes of another Court of Piepowder follow at the foot of this membrane.

At a Burghmote, "Margaret de zolk" abjured the town for one shirt (*camisia*), stolen "at the house of Benedict de Glanvyle, and for chattels of John de Louches."

"Because Peter de Dodecote (now Didcot) was convicted by the whole community of having cursed Nicholas de la Barre, the mayor, and slandered him, with good and grave people, calling him false, a detractor, and a thief, in despite of the whole community; the same Peter came to this court,

* Orig. Rot., xx. 3, abbreviated, p. 298.

† Rees, "Cyclopædia."

and gave pledge to the said mayor in 100 shillings. And it was further adjudged, that if any one of the community be thrice convicted, or if the said Peter be in future twice convicted of the like offence, against the said mayor or any mayor in future, he shall be deprived of his freedom by sound of bell of the Guildhall."

A recognizance is mentioned as being made "in the Hall of Pleas," probably within the Guildhall.

Benedict de Glaunville, who is proceeded against by William, Prior of Wallingford, is first distrained by one brass pot, next by two bushels of wheat, and then by one platter, for failing to appear to justify himself.

At the great court holden on Thursday (the Burghmote day) after the Feast of St. Michael, 14 Edward II., many suitors are entered as making default. Among them are John de Miltone, the Abbess of Goringe, and the Abbot of Dorkecestre (Dorchester).

The last membrane of the roll ends with a statement that the Prior of Wallingford and Benedict de Glaunville "at last have leave to agree," the latter to be amerced—which amercement, however, appears to have been remitted.

The old form of assessing the pecuniary mulct by so much of "damage (*damnum*) and disgrace (*pudor*)," is no longer observed in the rolls just noticed.

Attached by a parchment thong to a bundle of parchments, of which some of 14 Edward II. are now wanting, is a tally of white hard wood, with seven notches cut on it. Upon it is written very distinctly "Contra Robertum le Tailleur et Johannam, uxorem ejus, de denariis debitis Ricardo de Langele, mercatori Domini Edwardi, Comitis Cestrie. Istud debitum recuperatur in Curia." (Against Robert the tailor and Joan his wife, as to moneys due to Richard de Langele, purveyor of Sir Edward, Earl of Chester. This debt is recovered in court.)

The transaction to which the tally refers was probably entered on one of the membranes now lost. The Earl of Chester alluded to, then a child nine years of age, was afterwards King Edward III.

Among the miscellaneous documents are the following:—

A mandate, in Latin, by Thomas Daunvers, Sheriff of Berkshire, setting forth a royal precept, tested by W. de Bereford

[justiciar], at Westminster, on the 15th of June, 5 Edward II., commanding the Bailiffs of the burgh of Walingeforde to distrain Nicholas le Porter, of that place, a tenant for life, by all his lands and chattels in their bailiwick, that he may not commit waste upon the lands, houses, woods, or gardens, which Thomas Pain, father of Eustace the complainant, left him only for life. The following are endorsed on the back, as being the names of his manucaptors or mainpernors (sureties):—Henry de Mountfort, Alexander le Vacher (cowherd), John le Porter, Nicholas le Colich. “Exitus ejusdem, X⁴ Issues of the same, 10⁴.”

A small parchment slip, in Latin, the seal lost, of which the following is a translation:—“Be it known to all by these presents that I, Miles, Chaplain or Warden of the Hospital of St. Mary Magdalene, at Crowmersch, have received of Walter de Wimberville all arrears of wheat in which he was indebted to me, until the Feast of All Saints last past, of which arrears, unto the said Walter, I quit claim. In witness whereof to these presents, the common seal of our house is appended. Given at Ovyng, on the day of St. Andrew the Apostle, in the eleventh year of the reign of King Edward, son of King Edward” (Edward II.).

A small parchment writing, in Latin, is thus endorsed:—“Copy of a letter sent to the Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer, for the staple of wool and ordinance on money, by Nicholas de la Barre, then mayor. In obedience to the royal mandate, they will send to Westminster, on Tuesday, the Eve of St. Mark the Evangelist, John de Horspath, one of the bailiffs, and Thomas Tylot, John de Dene, Henry de Mulebourne, and Nicholas de Thomestone, four burgesses.”

A parchment indenture, in Latin, thus translated:—“14 Edward II. To all the faithful of Christ, who this writing shall see or hear, Nicholas de la Barre, Mayor of Walingford, Simon de Heyworth, Walter atte Dene, and Thomas Hervy, Aldermen, and the whole community thereof, greeting in the Lord;—Whereas William Badecoke and Roger Badecoke, our fellow-burgesses, of their own free will, in our urgent business, have delivered unto us 37*s.* 11*d.* as a loan; we do will and do grant to the same William and Roger, for that courtesy, that in future they shall be quit and absolved of all tallage and collection among us to be made; and that neither of them

shall be bailiff, or shall hold any bailiwick among us, or be put in any office, until for the said 37*s.* 11*d.*, by us or our successors to them full satisfaction shall have been made. In witness whereof, to these writings indented, our common seal and the seals of the aforesaid William and Roger have interchangeably been appended. Given at Walingford, etc."

From this document it is clear at how low an ebb the finances of the corporation must have been in A.D. 1321.

Among the records in this reign are :—An inquisition, 1 Edward II., before Robert Boylon, coroner, on the body of Thomas de Holdernesse, groom of . . . de Suttone, found dead by John le Lepere. The jurors found that he was struck on the breast, near the heart, by a horse, which was valued (for a deodand) at 100*s.*, and delivered to John le Grederer, a bailiff.

A mutilated piece of parchment, with some fragments of the small seals of the jurors originally appended, giving an account of an inquisition, 2 Edward II., before [Nicholas de la] Barre, keeper of the peace; whereby the jurors found that John Maryot, the mayor, Swayn de [Morteleye] . . . and Alexander le Vacher, under-bailiff, came to the house of John de Horspath, and there seized as a distress four pairs of shoes, for 2*s.* 6*d.* [for payment of a tallage] made by the community. And that Matilda, wife of the said John, raised the hue upon the mayor and the others named unjustly.

A parchment writing, the seals and thongs once attached to which are lost, stating, in Latin, that Henry de Horspath was taken by Nicholas de la Barre and Osbert de Notele, keepers of the peace, in the 4th of Edward II., and delivered into the custody of Gilbert de Maundeville. Upon inquisition held by fifteen jurors named, who found that on the Tuesday before, Hugh de Lathebyre, clerk of the earl at the Castle of Walingford, was passing on the highway opposite the seld of the said Henry and John his son; when John Sperlyng, a servant of John, came up to him as he was carrying a log of wood, and so moved it that it fell upon the head of Hugh, and caused blood to flow; whereon he fell into a ditch. John Marict, mayor of the vill, thereon came up, and would have done his duty for due punishment; upon which the said Henry, John, and Matilda, the wife of the latter, attacked the said mayor violently, maliciously cursed him and maligned

him; saying that he had been forgotten to be hanged at Traylbaston (a judicial commission for speedy judgment on perpetrators of deeds of violence), because he had broken into houses, and carried off goods to the value of ten marks. They also say that the said Henry, John, and Matilda, are in the habit of cursing and defaming many persons, both known and unknown. It was therefore determined by the said keepers of the peace, that they should be attached bodily. In witness, etc.

In the document now to be noticed, we have a striking memorial of the year 1316, in which, as before stated, the town suffered fearfully from a sore visitation of pestilence, with which, and its forerunner famine, the whole country was afflicted.

It begins in Latin as follows:—"Be it remembered that Thomas de Monketone died in the gaol of the Castle of Wallingford, on Monday after the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist (24th June), in the ninth year of the reign of King Edward; and was viewed by Robert Boylon, coroner of the lord the king at Wallingford." Abbreviating the language, the succeeding entries are as follows:—"On the same day died, in the same gaol, William Nywelond, of Kaveresham, and Gilbert Motun, of Hydesdone. On Tuesday, the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul (29th June), died Gunnilda Flot and William Burdon, of Clayore. On the Friday after, died John le Webbe, of Chakyndene; on the Sunday, John de Mortone; on Monday, John ate Brugge; and on Friday, John Whittinge, of Chalgrave, John le Coliere, of Ippesdene, and John Selverlok, of Ardintone. On Tuesday after the Feast of St. Mary Magdalene (22nd July), died Robert de Wodeford (it being now the tenth year of Edward II.); on Thursday after, Robert de Brittwelle and William le Fawellere, of Islep; on the Sunday after, John Gul and Peter le White, of Craumersshe. On Tuesday after the Feast of St. Bartholomew (24th August), Avicia de Gulforde died; on Thursday after the Feast of the Decollation of St. John (29th August), Thomas Short, called "le Webbe" (the weaver), and William Derelove, of Crundewelle; and on Friday, the day after, four persons, namely, Robert de Clopham, John de Baldindone, with Eva his wife, and Matilda Adam, of Chinnore. On Saturday, the day after, died John Adam and John le Saucer, of Chalgrave.

On Saturday after the Assumption of St. Mary (reverting apparently to that date, the 15th August), died Thomas le Muleward, of Mapelderham; on the Monday after, John de Faryindone; and on the Friday after that, Richard Not, of Islamstede: twenty-eight deaths in all, in a little over two months. In every instance an inquest was held.

In the 11th of Edward II. (A.D. 1318), the following inquests were held in the gaol of the Castle, before Robert Boilon, coroner:—On John Thedrich, of Flecham, on Sunday before the Feast of St. Peter ad Vincula; and because he was an approver of the lord the king, the coroner took inquisition by oath of twelve free jurors; who upon their oaths say, that the said Robert died a natural death, and not by duress of the keeper of the gaol, nor yet for default of food and drink, or in any other way. A like verdict was returned in the case of John le Cartere, of Esyntone, and also in that of William Godlond, of Estbrihtewelle, an approver of the lord the king.

A small slip of parchment, in Latin, the seals torn away, of which the following is a translation:—"To all the faithful of Christ, who this writing shall see or hear, Gilbert de Maundevely, John le Viler, Stephen de Grove, William le Mareschal, John Marmyon, of Walyngford, and Nicholas Fitz-William, greeting in the Lord everlasting:—Know ye that we have mainprised, body for body, the body of Alice Freman, attached, to have, body for body, the body of the aforesaid Alice at the next gaol delivery for the vill of Walyngford, if she be called for. In witness thereof, the aforesaid mainpernors to this mainprise have set their seals. Given at Walyngesford, etc., 12 King Edward, son of King Edward." Mainpernors, it must be borne in mind, gave their own bodies and risked their own liberty, as bail or surety, and not the mere forfeiture of a sum of money.

Among the parchment deeds are several grants of land and yearly rents to the Master of the Hospital of St. John, and of rents of small amount to the community of the burgh, for admission to the freedom. By indentures dated 2 Edward II., John Maryot, mayor, Osbert de Nottele, Richard de Louches, and Gilbert de Maundevely, aldermen, and the community of the vill of Walyngeforde, "for their urgent business, and 20 shillings of silver" paid beforehand, grant to Walter ate Dene, and John and Stephen ate Dene,

sons of Walter, for all their lives, the corner seld under their Guildhall, opposite the seld of Gilbert de Basyng, by the highway leading northward; for a yearly rent to be paid to their treasurer of 4 shillings of silver.

Deed of covenant, 4 Edward II., whereby Laurencia, daughter of John Serle, of Franketone, demises to Walter le Welare, of Walingford, one solar and a cellar, joining the house, etc., in the parish of St. Martin. In case she should alienate the same without leave, to forfeit 40 shillings of silver "in aid of the Holy Land."

Grant to the mayor and community of 6 pence of yearly rent from a certain place in the parish of St. Ruald, in Walyngford, between the tenements of Thomas Gratar and Adam le Follere, extending into Bruttestrete. Dated on the Eve of Palm Sunday, 5 Edward II.

8 Edward II. Grant by John Rouland, Warden of the same Hospital, of a tenement in the parish of "St. Mary-the-More," to Henry de Wyncestre and Alota his wife, and Alice their daughter, for life. The seal of Henry de Wyncestre, a double lily, is broken; that of Alota, oblong in green wax, is perfect, representing a flower, with the legend, "Alot., uxor Henr. d. Winc."

Another deed, 9 Edward II., mentions Thomas called "Le Noble," of Walyngford, and refers to a seld in the linen-market in the parish of St. Mary-the-More.

A parchment indenture, with the abbey seal appended, representing the Virgin and Child, whereby the Abbot and Convent of Messendon (now Great Missenden, in Bucks.) let to Robert de la Marche certain parcels of land, is set out fully; Riley observing that any written memorial of the little Abbey of Black Canons, at Missenden, in honour of the Virgin Mary, is probably at the present day but rarely to be found.

Grant, in Latin, dated on Sunday, 16 Edward II., by Agnes le Arblastar, of a piece of land extending to the "Garscrofte, in the parish of All Saints, in Walingford."

END OF VOL. I.

Rep^d R. H. 18.11.46

